

A
HISTORY
OF
THE EARLY PART OF THE REIGN
OF
JAMES THE SECOND.

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TO THE READER.

MR. Fox was for some years engaged in an historical Work, which he did not live to complete. The curiosity excited by the knowledge that he was so employed, would be sufficient to justify the publication of any Fragment of his labours, even if it had been found in a more unfinished state than the Chapters which compose the body of this volume. It is, therefore, conceived, that although the work is incomplete, any apology would be misplaced, and that in fact, I only fulfil the wishes of the public, in laying before them all that can now be obtained of a history so earnestly expected from the pen of Mr. Fox.

An explanation, however, of the circumstances attending a posthumous publication, if not necessary for the satisfaction of the reader, is due to the memory and reputation of the author himself. Some notion of what

he projected, seems requisite towards forming an estimate of what he performed; and in this instance, the rumours formerly circulated concerning the nature of his undertaking, and the materials which he had collected, render indispensable, a short statement of his intentions, and of the manner in which he prosecuted his researches. It will be yet more necessary to explain the state in which the manuscript was found, and the course which has been pursued in printing a work, respecting which no positive injunctions were ever received from the author.

The precise period at which Mr. Fox first formed the design of writing a history, cannot be ascertained. In the year 1797, he announced publicly his intention of devoting “ a greater* portion of his time to his private pursuits :” He was even on the point of relinquishing his seat in Parliament, and retiring altogether from publick life; a plan which he had formed many years before, and to the execution of which he always looked forward with the greatest delight. The remonstrances, however, of those friends, for whose judgment he had the greatest deference, ultimately prevailed. He consequently confined his scheme of retreat to a more uninterrupted residence in the country, than he had hitherto permitted himself to enjoy. During his retirement, that love of literature, and fondness for poetry,

* Vide Parliamentary Debates, May 26, 1797.

which neither pleasure nor business had ever extinguished, revived with an ardour, such as few in the eagerness of youth, or in pursuit of fame or advantage, are capable of feeling. For some time, however, his studies were not directed to any particular object. Such was the happy disposition of his mind, that his own reflections, whether supplied by conversation, desultory reading, or the common occurrences of a life in the country, were always sufficient to call forth the vigour and exertion of his faculties. Intercourse with the world had so little deadened in him the sense of the simplest enjoyments, that even in the hours of apparent leisure and inactivity, he retained that keen relish of existence, which, after the first impressions of life, is so rarely excited but by great interests and strong passions. Hence it was, that in the interval between his active attendance in Parliament, and the undertaking of his History, he never felt the tedium of a vacant day. A verse in Cowper, which he frequently repeated,

How various his employments whom the world
Calls idle!

was an accurate description of the life he was then leading; and I am persuaded, that if he had consulted his own gratifications only, it would have continued to be so. The circumstances which led him once more to take an active part in publick discussions, are foreign to the purposes of this Preface. It is sufficient to remark,

that they could not be foreseen, and that his notion of engaging in some literary undertaking was adopted during his retirement, and with the prospect of long and uninterrupted leisure before him. When he had determined upon employing some part of it in writing, he was, no doubt, actuated by a variety of considerations, in the choice of the task he should undertake. His philosophy had never rendered him insensible to the gratification which the hope of posthumous fame so often produces in great minds ; and, though criticism might be more congenial to the habits and amusements of his retreat, an historical work seemed more of a piece with the tenour of his former life, and might prove of greater benefit to the publick, and to posterity. These motives, together with his intimate knowledge of the English Constitution, naturally led him to prefer the history of his own country, and to select a period favourable to the illustration of the great general principles of freedom, on which it is founded ; for his attachment to those principles, the result of practical observation, as well as philosophical reflection, far from having abated, had acquired new force and fresh vigour in his retirement.

With these views, it was almost impossible that he should not fix on the Revolution of 1688. The event was cheering and animating. It was the most signal triumph of that cause to which his publick life had been devoted ; and in a review of its progress, he could not

fail to recognize those principles which had regulated his own political conduct. But the choice of that period was recommended by yet higher considerations; the desire of rescuing from misrepresentation, the most glorious transaction of our history; the opportunity of instructing his countrymen in the real nature of their Constitution; and the hope of impressing on mankind those lessons applicable to all times, which are to be drawn from that memorable occurrence.

The manner in which the most popular historians, and other writers of eminence, had treated the subject, was likely to stimulate him more strongly to such an undertaking. It could not escape the observation of Mr. Fox, that some, from the bias of their individual opinions, had given a false colour to the whole transaction; that others had wilfully distorted the facts to serve some temporary purpose; and that Bolingbroke, in particular, had confounded the distinct and even opposite views of the two leading parties, who, though they concurred in the measure, retained even in their union, all their respective tenets and fundamental distinctions.

According to his first crude conceptions of the work, it would, as far as I recollect, have begun at the Revolution; but he altered his mind, after a careful perusal of the latter part of Hume's history. An apprehension of the false impressions which that great historian's

partiality, might have left on the mind of his readers, induced him to go back to the accession of King James the Second, and even to prefix an Introductory Chapter, on the character and leading events of the times immediately preceding.

From the moment his labour commenced, he generally spoke of his plan as extending no further than the settlement at the Revolution. His friends, however, were not without hopes, that the habit of composition might engage him more deeply in literary undertakings, or that the different views which the course of his enquiries would open, might ultimately allure him on further in the history of his country. Some casual expressions, both in conversation and correspondence, seemed to imply that the possibility of such a result was not entirely out of his own contemplation. He acknowledged that some papers which I had the good fortune to procure in Spain, “ though they did not relate to his “ period exactly, might be very useful to him, and at all “ events entertaining; nay, possibly, that they might “ make him go on further than he intended.”*—As his work advanced, his allusions to various literary projects, such as an edition of Dryden, a Defence of Racine and the French Stage, Essay on the Beauties of Euripides, &c. &c. became more frequent, and were more confidently expressed. In a letter written to me in

* MS. Correspondence.

1803, after observing, that a modern writer did not sufficiently admire Racine, he adds—"It puts me quite in a passion. *Je veux contre eux faire un jour un gros livre*, as Voltaire says. Even Dryden, who speaks with proper respect of Corneille, *vilipends** Racine. If ever I publish my edition of his works, I will give it him for it, you may depend. Oh how I wish that I could make up my mind to think it right, to devote all the remaining part of my life to such subjects, and such only! Indeed I rather think I shall; and yet, if there were a chance of re-establishing a strong Whig party, (however composed,)

"Non adeo has exosa manus victoria fugit

"Ut tantâ quicquam pro spe tentare recusem."

Even while his undertaking was yet fresh, in the course of an enquiry into some matters relating to the trial of Somerset, in King James the First's reign, he says to his correspondent, "But what is all this, you will say, to my history? Certainly nothing; but one historical enquiry leads to another; and I recollect that the impression upon my mind was, that there was more reason than is generally allowed, for suspecting that Prince Henry was poisoned by Somerset, and that the King knew of it after the fact. This is not, to be sure, to my present purpose; but I have thought

* Mr. Fox often used this word in ridicule of pedantic expressions.

“ of prefixing to my work, if it ever should be finished,
“ a disquisition upon Hume’s History of the Stewarts,
“ and in no part of it would his partiality appear stronger,
“ than in James the First.”*

About the same time, he talked of writing, either in the form of a dedication, or dialogue, a treatise on the three arts of Poetry, History, and Oratory; which, to my surprize, he classed in the order I have related. The plan of such a work seemed, in a great measure, to be digested in his head, and from the sketch he drew of his design to me, it would, if completed, have been an invaluable monument of the great originality of thought, and singular philosophical acuteness, with which he was accustomed to treat of such subjects in his most careless conversations. But though a variety of literary projects might occasionally come across him, he was very cautious of promising too much; for he was aware, that whatever he undertook, his progress in it would necessarily be extremely slow. He could not but foresee, that as new events arose, his friends would urge him to return to politicks; and though his own inclinations might enable him to resist their entreaties, the very discussion on the propriety of yielding, would produce an attention to the state of publick affairs, and divert him in some degree from the pursuit in which he was engaged. But it was yet

* MS Correspondence to Lord Lauderdale.

more difficult to fortify himself against the seductions of his own inclination, which was continually drawing him off from his historical researches, to critical enquiries, to the study of the classicks, and to works of imagination and poetry. Abundant proof exists of the effect of these interruptions, both on his labours and on his mind. His letters are filled with complaints, of such as arose from politicks, while he speaks with delight and complacency of whole days devoted to Euripides and Virgil.

The scale which his various pursuits occupied in his estimation, is very naturally described in several of his letters. And as it is not entirely foreign to the purpose of this Preface, my readers may not be displeased with the insertion of one, as a specimen of his familiar correspondence.

“ DEAR GREY,

“ In defence of my opinion about the nightingales, I
“ find Chaucer, who of all poets seems to have been the
“ fondest of the singing of birds, calls it a *merry* note ;
“ and though Theocritus mentions nightingales six or
“ seven times, he never mentions their note as plain-
“ tive or melancholy. It is true, he does not call it
“ any where merry, as Chaucer does ; but by mention-
“ ing it with the song of the blackbird, and as answer-
“ ing it, he seems to imply, that it was a chearful note.

“ Sophocles is against us ; but even *he* says, lamenting
“ *Itys*, and the comparison of her to Electra, is rather as
“ to perseverance day and night, than as to sorrow. At
“ all events, a tragick poet is not half so good authority
“ in this question, as Theocritus and Chaucer. I can-
“ not light upon the passage in the Odyssey, where
“ Penelope’s restlessness is compared to the nightingale;
“ but I am sure that it is only as to restlessness and
“ watchfulness, that he makes the comparison. If you
“ will read the last twelve books of the Odyssey, you will
“ certainly find it, and I am sure you will be paid for your
“ hunt, whether you find it or not. The passage in
“ Chaucer is in the Flower and Leaf, p. 99. The one
“ I particularly allude to in Theocritus, is in his Epi-
“ grams, I think in the fourth. Dryden has transferrèd
“ the word *merry* to the goldfinch, in the Flower and
“ the Leaf; in deference, may be, to the vulgar error;
“ but pray read his description of the nightingale there:
“ It is quite delightful. I am afraid I like these re-
“ searches as much better than those that relate to
“ Shaftesbury, Sunderland, &c. as I do those better
“ than attending the House of Commons.

“ Your’s, affectionately,

“ C. J. FOX.”

The fact is, he struggled so little against such inclinations, that when pressed to sacrifice his Greek studies

for a time, he answers, “ I have no thoughts of throwing away my Greek books, and would give up the whole plan if I thought it incompatible with my giving a little time to them.”*

But it was not merely the interference of other occupations, whether of business or amusement, that impeded the progress of his work.

He knew by experience, that he was as slow in composition, as he was rapid in publick speaking. He had employed many days in writing his Letter to the Electors of Westminster, in 1793; and even the publication of his Speech† on the late Duke of Bedford, (the only instance in which he ever revised what he had delivered in publick,) occupied a greater portion of his time than could be easily imagined, by those who were unacquainted with his scrupulous attention to all the niceties of language. In addition to these circumstances he soon

* MS. Correspondence.

† Having mentioned these works, I take this opportunity of adding, that, with the exception of the 14th, 16th, and perhaps a few other numbers of a periodical publication in 1779, called the *Englishman*, and an Epitaph on the late Bishop of Downe, they are the only pieces of prose he ever printed; unless indeed, one were to reckon his Advertisements to Electors, and the Parliamentary Papers which he may have drawn up.

There are several specimens of his composition in verse, in different languages: but the Lines on Mrs. Crewe, and those to Mrs. Fox, on his birthday, are, as far as I recollect, all that have been printed. An Ode to Poverty, and an Epigram upon Gibbon, though very generally attributed to him, are certainly not his compositions.

perceived that his scrupulous exactness, with respect to all the circumstances of any fact which he was obliged either to relate or advert to, would retard him by the multiplicity and minuteness of the researches it would occasion.—“ History goes on, (he remarked,) but it goes “ on very slowly. The fact is, I am a very slow writer, “ but I promise I will persevere. I believe I am too “ scrupulous both about language and facts; though “ with respect to the latter, it is hardly possible. It is “ astonishing how many facts one finds related, for “ which there is no authority whatever. Tradition, “ you will say, does in some cases, but it will not apply “ to others.”*

Even while he was employed in the Introduction, in which “ as it was rather a discussion alluding to known “ facts, than a minute enquiry into disputed points,”* he acknowledged that “ it was not so important to be “ exact to a nicety;” he nevertheless found some difficulty in tracing the information of historians to their original sources. Upon this, as upon all other occasions, where he stood in need of active assistance, he had recourse to the advice and friendship of Lord Lauderdale; and the following letter was the first step he took in those researches, which, after a long series of enquiries, enabled him both to ascertain the nature, and the fate of the Scotch College Manuscripts, and to procure a

* MS. Correspondence.

valuable collection of papers from the Depôt of Foreign Affairs at Paris.

To the EARL of LAUDERDALE.*

“ DEAR LAUDERDALE,

“ I am seriously thinking of becoming an historian,
“ and have indeed begun; but my progress hitherto is
“ so little, that it is not worth mentioning, except upon
“ the principle of *dimidium qui cepit*. As to what people
“ may expect, I know not. If much, they will be dis-
“ appointed; but I certainly do not intend to decline
“ the labour of any search, which I am able to make,
“ and much less to refuse any assistance I can have in
“ such research. I hope, therefore, you will not be
“ satisfied with merely recommending to me to make
“ use of assistance, but give me some hint of what na-
“ ture, and from whom I may get it. To enable you to
“ do this better, it is necessary to inform you, that the
“ death of Charles the Second is the period from which
“ I commence my history; though in my Introduction,
“ I take a pretty full review of his reign, and conse-
“ quently, should be glad enough to get new lights with
“ regard to it. Even this Introductory Chapter, how-
“ ever, is not yet finished. Next, it is fit you should
“ know, that so far from having as yet examined, or even
“ looked into any manuscript papers, or other documents

* This letter was written in the beginning of the year 1800.

“ not generally known, I do not even know where any
“ such exist, and, therefore, any information on that
“ head will be very welcome. I find one of my greatest
“ difficulties to be, how to discover the authorities upon
“ which historians advance their facts, for they very
“ often do not refer to them. Hitherto, where I am
“ only taking a cursory review, this is of no great im-
“ portance. But in regard to the Popish and Rye-house
“ plots particularly, I find both Rapin and Hume ad-
“ vancing so many facts, for which I cannot guess their
“ authorities, that if I were to give a regular history of
“ these transactions, I should be much puzzled. Now,
“ when I am under difficulties of this sort, can you
“ either direct me to whom I can apply for a solution
“ of them? or if I send queries to you, can you give
“ me answers to them?”

With both the above requests Lord Lauderdale complied; and by his own diligence, and the assistance of Mr. Laing, was enabled to transmit to Mr. Fox much useful information. In a very short time afterwards that Gentleman published his History of Scotland, a work which Mr. Fox emphatically termed “ a treasure,” and which so animated his labours, by opening new sources of information, and new views of transactions, that at no period was he so ardent in the prosecution of his plan, as when fresh from the perusal of that valuable

performance. The advantages he derived from it he frequently declared to be incalculable; and it certainly was not among the least, that it afforded him an opportunity of cultivating the friendship of the Author, and consulting him on many points connected with his own undertaking. As the early part of his correspondence is of a general nature, I subjoin his first letter, and an extract from the second.

To MALCOLM LAING, Esq.

“ SIR,

“ I ought long since to have acknowledged the receipt of your History of Scotland, and to have returned you my thanks for your early communication to me of that excellent work. It has given me the greatest satisfaction; and there are several points relating to *English* history in it, which you appear to me to have cleared up much more than any other of those historians who have professedly treated of them.

“ What you say in answer to Hume, upon the subject of Glamorgan’s powers, is quite conclusive; but I rather regret that you have not taken notice of that part of his argument which is built upon what he calls Glamorgan’s defeazance, and which is the most plausible part of it.

“ In Charles the Second’s reign, I observe that you do not mention the atrocious case of Wier, which

“ Hume details; but that which you say of Laurie of
“ Blackwood is very like what he relates of Wier.
“ Would it be too much trouble to ask of you to let me
“ know whether Hume’s statement of Wier is a correct
“ one?

“ I had detected the trick of Hume’s theatrical and
“ false representation of Charles the First hearing the
“ noise of his scaffold, but did not know that he had had
“ Herbert’s authentick account so lately under his eye.
“ In general, I think you treat him (Hume) too tenderly.
“ He was an excellent man, and of great powers of
“ mind, but his partiality to kings and princes is into-
“ lerable. Nay, it is, in my opinion, quite ridiculous,
“ and is more like the foolish admiration which women
“ and children sometimes have for kings, than the
“ opinion, right or wrong, of a philosopher.

“ I wanted no conviction on the point of Ossian;
“ but if I had, you afford abundance.

“ Whether your book, coming out at a period when
“ the principles upon it which appears to be written are
“ becoming so unfashionable, will be a popular one or
“ not, I know not; but to all who wish to have a true
“ knowledge of the history of your country, it is a most
“ valuable acquisition, and will serve to counteract
“ the mischief which Hume, Dalrymple, Macpherson,
“ Somerville, and others of your countrymen have
“ done. You will easily believe that I do not class

“ Hume with the others, except as to the bad tendency
“ of their representations.

“ I shall desire my friend, Lord Lauderdale, to
“ transmit this to you.

“ I am, with great regard,

“ SIR,

“ Your most obedient Servant,

*St. Anne's Hill,
Sept. 24, 1800.*

“ C. J. FOX.”

Extract from a Second Letter to Mr. LAING.

“ Many thanks to you, my dear Sir, for yours of the
“ 10th. I have found the place in Ralph, and a great
“ deal more important matter relative to the transac-
“ tions of those times, which is but slightly touched by
“ other historians. I am every day more and more sur-
“ prized, that Ralph should have had so much less re-
“ putation as an historian than he seems to deserve.

“ I will trouble you freely when I shall have far-
“ ther questions to ask; but I should take it very ill
“ if you were so to confine your answer to mere matter
“ of reference, as not to give me your opinion, when
“ you form any, upon the points in question.”

A correspondence ensued, from which it appears that he took indefatigable pains to investigate the authority for every assertion in the writers he consulted, and to correct the slightest variation in their accounts,

though apparently of little importance. Before he drew any inference whatever, the weight of evidence was so carefully balanced in his mind, that the authority for each particular circumstance was separately examined, and distinctly ascertained. Indeed the necessity and even use of such extreme circumspection, such scrupulous sifting of his most minute materials, might at first sight appear questionable. But many parts of the work are sufficient to prove that such labours were far from being fruitless. An instance is easily selected. His enquiries concerning the seizure and execution of the Earl of Argyle, are contained in the correspondence with Mr. Laing, and they are of the nature I have described; but on reading his narrative of those events, the advantages he derived from the circumstantial minuteness of his materials, will not be found less striking, than his diligence in procuring and analyzing them.

One of the earliest and greatest difficulties that he encountered in the course of his labours, arose from the manner in which Mr. Macpherson and Sir J. Dalrymple had explained and conducted their respective publications, and which he always considered as unsatisfactory. His complaints of both these authors were frequent; and the more he examined and studied their books, the more he perceived the necessity of making some further researches. He was anxious, if possible, to consult the original documents from which

their extracts were made; and he was at first apprehensive, that nothing short of an examination of all the manuscripts of the Scotch College at Paris, could enable him to determine the degree of credit due to the extracts of Macpherson. But he must very soon have despaired of obtaining that satisfaction, for he had strong reasons to suspect, even before his journey to Paris in 1802, that the most valuable part, if not the whole of them, had been destroyed. Three important points, however, might yet be ascertained:—1st, Of what the manuscripts, so long preserved in the Scotch College at Paris, actually consisted;—2ndly, To what part of them either Carte or Macpherson had access;—3dly, Whether any portion, copies, or fragments, of the papers were still in existence. The result of his enquiries will be best given in his own words, though upon the first point he had ascertained* something more than appears from the following extract of his letter to Mr. Laing.

* Among Mr. Fox's papers was found a list of "the works which were placed in the Scotch College at Paris, soon after the death of James the Second, and were there at the time of the French Revolution." It is as follows:

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| Four volumes folio, six
volumes quarto, | { | Memoirs in James the Second's own handwriting, beginning from the time that he was sixteen years of age. |
| | | |
| Two thin quarto volumes, | { | Containing letters from Charles the Second's ministers to James the Second (then Duke of York,) when he was at Brussels and in Scotland, MS. |
| | | |
| Two thin quarto volumes, | { | Containing letters from Charles the Second to his brother, James Duke of York, MS. |
| | | |

“ With respect to Carte’s extract, I have no doubt
“ but it is faithfully copied; but on this extract it is
“ necessary to make an observation, which applies to
“ all the rest, both of Carte’s and Macpherson’s, and
“ which leads to the detection of an imposture of the
“ latter, as impudent as Ossian itself. The extracts
“ are evidently made, not from a journal, but from a
“ narrative; and *I have now ascertained beyond all doubt*
“ that there were in the Scotch College *two distinct*
“ manuscripts, one in James’s own hand, consisting of
“ papers of different sizes bound up together, the other
“ a sort of historical narrative, compiled from the
“ former. The narrative was *said* to have been revised
“ and corrected, as to style, by Dryden* the poet,
“ (meaning probably Charles Dryden, the great poet’s
“ son,) and it was not known in the College whether it
“ was drawn up in James’s life, or by the direction of
“ his son, the Pretender. I doubt whether Carte ever
“ saw the original journal; but I learn, from undoubted
“ authority, that Macpherson never did; and yet to
“ read his Preface, page 6 and 7, (which pray advert to,)
“ one would have supposed, not only that he had in-
“ spected it accurately, but that all *his* extracts at least,

* It is the opinion of the present possessor of the narrative, that it was compiled from the original documents by Thomas Innes, one of the Superiors of the College, and author of a work entitled, *A Critical Essay on the ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*

“ if not Carte’s also, were taken from it. Macpherson’s
“ impudence in attempting such an imposition, at a
“ time when almost any man could have detected him,
“ would have been in another man, incredible, if the
“ internal evidence of the extracts themselves against
“ him were not corroborated by the testimony of the
“ principal persons of the College. And this leads me
“ to a point of more importance to me. Principal
“ Gordon thought, when I saw him at Paris, in October
“ 1802, that all the papers were lost. I now hear from
“ a well-informed person, that the most material, viz.
“ those written in James’s own hand-writing, were in-
“ deed lost, and in the way mentioned by Gordon, but
“ that the Narrative, from which only Macpherson made
“ his extracts, is still existing, and that Mr. Alexander
“ Cameron, Blackfriars Wynd, Edinburgh, either has
“ it himself, or knows where it is to be found.”

The above information was correct. There is strong presumptive evidence, that the Manuscripts of King James the Second were destroyed; but the Narrative, as described, was then, and is now, in the hands of Dr. Cameron, Roman Catholick Bishop in Edinburgh. It could not be in the possession of a person who is better qualified to judge of its merits, and on whose fidelity, should he be induced to print it, the publick might more implicitly rely. I am indebted to his accuracy and friendship, for some additional information respect-

ing the manner in which the Manuscripts of the Scotch College were lost. As the facts are in themselves curious, I lay before the reader his succinct and interesting relation of them, contained in a letter to me, dated Edinburgh, March 2, 1808.

“ Before Lord Gower, the British Ambassador, left
“ Paris, in the beginning of the French Revolution, he
“ wrote to Principal Gordon, and offered to take charge
“ of those valuable papers, (King James’s Manuscripts,
“ &c.) and deposit them in some place of safety in
“ Britain. I know not what answer was returned, but
“ nothing was done. Not long thereafter, the Principal
“ came to England, and the care of every thing in the
“ College devolved on Mr. Alexander Innes, the only
“ British subject who remained in it. About the same
“ time, Mr. Stapleton, then President of the English
“ College of St. Omer, afterwards Bishop in England,
“ went to Paris, previously to his retiring from France,
“ and Mr. Innes, who had resolved not to abandon his
“ post, consulted with him about the means of pre-
“ serving the Manuscripts. Mr. Stapleton thought, if
“ he had them at St. Omer, he could, with small risk,
“ convey them to England. It was therefore resolved,
“ that they should be carefully packed up, addressed to
“ a Frenchman, a confidential friend of Mr. Stapleton,
“ and remitted by some publick carriage. Some other

“ things were put up with the Manuscripts. The whole
“ arrived without any accident, and was laid in a cellar.
“ But the patriotism of the Frenchman becoming suspi-
“ cious, perhaps upon account of his connection with
“ the English College, he was put in prison; and his
“ wife, apprehensive of the consequences of being found
“ to have English manuscripts, richly bound and orna-
“ mented with Royal arms, in her house, cut off the
“ boards, and destroyed them. The Manuscripts thus
“ disfigured, and more easily huddled up in any sort of
“ bundle, were secretly carried, with papers belonging
“ to the Frenchman himself, to his country-house, and
“ buried in the garden. They were not, however, per-
“ mitted to remain long there; the lady's fears increased,
“ and the Manuscripts were taken up and reduced to
“ ashes.

“ This is the substance of the account given to Mr,
“ Innes, and reported by him to me in June, 1802, in
“ Paris. I desired it might be authenticated by a *proces*
“ *verbale*. A letter was therefore written to St. Omer,
“ either by Mr. Innes, or by Mr. Cleghorn, a lay gen-
“ tleman, who had resided in the English College of St.
“ Omer, and was personally acquainted with the French-
“ man, and happened to be at Paris at this time. The
“ answer given to this letter was, that the good man,
“ under the pressure of old age and other infirmities,
“ was alarmed by the proposal of a discussion and

“ investigation, which revived in his memory past
“ sufferings, and might, perhaps, lead to a renewal of
“ them. Any further correspondence upon the subject
“ seemed useless, especially as I instructed Mr. Innes
“ to go to St. Omer, and clear up every doubt, in a
“ formal and legal manner, that some authentic docu-
“ ment might be handed down to posterity concerning
“ those valuable Manuscripts. I did not foresee that
“ war was to be kindled up anew, or that my friend
“ Mr. Innes was to die so soon.

“ Mr. Cleghorn, whom I mentioned above, is at
“ present in the Catholick seminary of Old-Hall Green,
“ Puckeridge, Hertfordshire. He can probably name
“ another gentleman who saw the Manuscripts at St.
“ Omer, and saved some small things, (but unconnected
“ with the Manuscripts,) which he carried away in his
“ pocket, and has still in his possession.

“ I need not trouble your Lordship with my reflec-
“ tions upon this relation ; but I ought not to omit that
“ I was told, sometimes, that all the Manuscripts, as
“ well as their boards, were consumed by fire in the
“ cellar in which they had been deposited upon their
“ arrival at St. Omer.”

The gentleman alluded to in the latter part of the
above letter, is Mr. Mostyn, from whom Mr. Butler of
Lincoln's-Inn very kindly procured a statement of the

particulars relating to this subject, in the year 1804, and transmitted it to Mr. Fox. It contains in substance, though with some additional circumstances, and slight variations, the same account as Mr. Cameron's, up to the period of the writer's leaving St. Omer, which was previous to the imprisonment of the Frenchman.*

Mr. Fox, in a letter to Mr. Laing, remarks, that, to “ know that a paper is lost, is next best to getting a sight “ of it, and in some instances nearly as good.” So many rumours have been circulated, and so many misapprehensions prevailed, respecting the contents and the fate of the Manuscripts formerly deposited in the Scotch College at Paris, that it is hoped the above account, the result of the Historian's researches, will not be deemed out of its place in a Preface to a History of the times to which those manuscripts related.

The Scotch College papers were not, however, the only, nor even the chief object of Mr. Fox's historical enquiries at Paris. He had remarked, that Sir John Dalrymple frequently “ quotes, or rather refers to,†” documents in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères*, without printing the letter, or extracting the passage from which his statements are taken, and his inferences drawn.

* Mr. Mostyn's letter to Mr. Butler was published in one of the Magazines, it would therefore be superfluous to reprint it. The name of the Frenchman was Mr. Charpentier, and his country house was at St. Momelin, near St. Omer.

† MS. Correspondence.

This made him particularly desirous of examining the Original Letters of Barillon; and he was not without hopes that many other papers in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères*, might prove equally interesting and important. It was obvious, however, that during war, he could not have personal access to such documents. He was therefore on the point of applying, through some private friend at Paris, for a copy of such letters as he could distinctly describe to his correspondent, when the restoration of peace enabled him to repair thither; and the liberality of the French Government opened to him the archives of the Foreign Affairs without reserve, and afforded him every facility and convenience for consulting and copying such papers as appeared to him to be material. He lost no time in availing himself of this permission, and while he remained at Paris, he passed a great part of every morning at the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères*, accompanied by his friends Lord St. John, Mr. Adair, and Mr. Trotter, who assisted him in examining and transcribing the original papers.

The correspondence of Barillon did not disappoint his expectations. He thought the additional information contained in those parts of it, which Sir John Dalrymple had omitted to extract, or to publish, so important, that he procured copies of them all. He observed to one of his correspondents, “my studies at Paris have been useful beyond what I can describe:” and his expression

to me was, that “ Barillon’s letters were worth their “ weight in gold.”* It should seem that he discovered some curious circumstances from the correspondence of D’Avaux, for he copied out those letters also at length, though a large collection or abstract of them had been formerly published.

The correspondence of the above mentioned French Ministers with their Court, formed the chief materials which he brought over with him from France. He was disappointed at my failing to procure him that of the Spanish Ambassador,† resident in London during the same period, “ which, he said, would have given him “ advantages of the greatest consequence over all other “ historians.” The papers, however, of which he was already in possession were, in his judgment, sufficient to throw new light upon many transactions of the reign of King James the Second. If, therefore, unforeseen circumstances had not occurred, soon after his return, to retard the progress of his work, there can be little doubt, but he would have composed more during that year, than he had been able to complete since the commencement of the undertaking. He was at first occupied

* MS. Correspondence.

† Don Pedro Ronquillo. Mr. Fox commissioned me to obtain for him, copies of his Letters from 1685 to 1688 inclusive. By a perverse piece of luck, I fell in with and purchased his original Letters from 1689 to 1691; but could never find any traces whatever of his previous correspondence.

in inserting into the parts he had finished, such additional information as he had drawn from the sources opened to him by his researches at Paris. This was to him a task of greater labour than at first sight might be expected. "I find," he says, "piecing in the bits which
" I have written from my Parisian materials, a troublesome job."* It is indeed probable, that his difficulties upon this occasion, were greater than any other modern historian would have had to encounter. I have mentioned them more particularly, because they in some measure arose from his scrupulous attention to certain notions he entertained on the nature of an historical composition. If indeed the work were finished, the nature of his design would be best collected from his execution of it; but as it is unfortunately in an incomplete and unfinished state, his conception of the duties of an historian may very possibly be misunderstood. The consequence would be, that some passages, which, according to modern taste, must be called peculiarities, might, with superficial critics, pass for defects which he had overlooked, or imperfections which he intended to correct. It is, therefore, necessary to observe, that he had formed his plan so exclusively on the model of ancient writers, that he not only felt some repugnance to the modern practice of notes, but he thought that all which an historian wished to say, should be introduced as part of

* MS. Correspondence.

a continued narration, and never assume the appearance of a digression, much less of a dissertation annexed to it. From the period, therefore, that he closed his Introductory Chapter, he defined his duty as an author, to consist in recounting the facts as they arose, or in his simple and forcible language, *in telling the story of those times*. A conversation which passed on the subject of the literature of the age of James the Second, proves his rigid adherence to these ideas, and perhaps the substance of it may serve to illustrate and explain them. In speaking of the writers of that period, he lamented that he had not devised a method of interweaving any account of them or their works, much less any criticism on their style, into his History. On my suggesting the example of Hume and Voltaire, who have discussed such topics at some length, either at the end of each reign, or in a separate Chapter, he observed, with much commendation of their execution of it, that such a contrivance might be a good mode of writing critical essays, but that it was, in his opinion, incompatible with the nature of his undertaking, which, if it ceased to be a narrative, ceased to be a history.

Such restraints undoubtedly operated as taxes upon his ingenuity, and added to that labour which the observance of his general laws of composition rendered sufficiently great. On the rules of writing he had reflected much, and deeply. His own habits naturally

led him to compare them with those of publick speaking, and the different, and even opposite principles upon which excellence is to be attained in these two great arts, were no unusual topicks of his conversation. The difference did not, in his judgment, consist so much in language or diction, as in the arrangement of thoughts, the length and construction of sentences, and, if I may borrow a phrase familiar to publick speakers, in the mode of putting an argument. A writer, to preserve his perspicuity, must keep distinct and separate those parts of a discourse, which the orator is enabled, by modulation of voice, and with the aid of action, to bring at once into view, without confounding or perplexing his audience. Frequency of allusion, which in speaking produces the happiest effect, in writing renders the sense obscure, and interrupts the simplicity of the discourse. Even those sudden turns, those unforeseen flashes of wit which, struck out at the moment, dazzle and delight a publick assembly, appear cold and inanimate, when deliberately introduced into a written composition.

A perusal of the Letter to the Electors of Westminster, will shew how scrupulously Mr. Fox attended to these distinctions. That work was written in the heat of a Session of Parliament. It treated professedly of subjects upon which the writer was daily in the habit of speaking, with his usual force of argument and

variety of illustration. Notwithstanding these circumstances, no political tract of any note in our language, is in form or style less oratorical, or, with the exception of one passage, more free from those peculiarities, which the practice of publick speaking seems calculated to produce. Such a strict observance of these principles must have cost him great trouble and attention. He was so apprehensive that his writings might retain some traces of that art, in the exercise of which he had employed the greater part of his life, that he frequently rejected passages, which in any other author would not have appeared liable to such an objection. He seems even to have distrusted his own judgment upon this subject; and after having taken the greatest pains, he was never sufficiently satisfied of his own success. If we except the account of the Earl of Argyle, the Introductory Chapter is unquestionably the most correct and finished part of the present publication. He did not, however, conceive it to be entirely exempt from a defect to which he apprehended that his works must be peculiarly exposed. He says to his correspondent, “ I have at last “ finished my Introduction, which after all is more like “ a speech than it should be.”

Simplicity, both in expression and construction, was the quality in style which he most admired, and the beauty he chiefly endeavoured to attain. He was the more scrupulously anxious to preserve this character in

his writings, because he thought that the example of some great writers had, in his own time, perverted the taste of the publick, and that their imitators had corrupted the purity of the English language. Though he frequently commended both Hume's and Blackstone's style, and always spoke of Middleton's with admiration, he once assured me, that he would admit no word into his book, for which he had not the authority of Dryden.

He was scarcely less nice about phrases and expressions. It is indeed possible, that those of his readers, who have formed their taste upon Johnson or Gibbon, or taken their notions of style from the criticism of late years, may discover, in the course of the work, some idioms which are now seldom admitted into the higher classes of composition. To speak without reserve upon a subject in which his judgment, as an author, may be called in question, it appears to me more likely, that such phrases should have been introduced upon system, than that they should have escaped his observation, and crept in through inadvertence. The work is indeed, "*incomplete and unfinished*;" but it is not with reference to any phrases, which may be supposed to be too familiar, or colloquial, that such a description has been given of it. Such was the Author's abhorrence of any thing that savoured of pedantry or affectation, that if he was ever reduced to the alternative of an inflated, or homely expression, I have no doubt but he preferred

the latter. This persuasion, in addition to many other considerations, has induced me religiously to preserve, in the publication of this Work, every phrase and word of the Original Manuscript. Those who are disposed to respect his authority, may have the satisfaction of knowing, that there is not one syllable in the following Chapters, which is not the genuine production of Mr. Fox. That there are several passages, (especially in the latter end of the text,) which he might, that there are some which he obviously would, have corrected, is unquestionable; but, with the knowledge of such scrupulous attention to language in an author, to have substituted any word or expression, for that which he had written, would not have been presumption only, but injustice.

The manuscript book from which this Work has been printed is, for the most part, in the hand writing of Mrs. Fox. It was written out under the inspection of Mr. Fox, and is occasionally corrected by him. His habit was seldom or never to be alone, when employed in composition. He was accustomed to write on covers of letters, or scraps of paper, sentences which he, in all probability, had turned in his mind, and, in some degree formed in the course of his walks, or during his hours of leisure. These he read over to Mrs. Fox; she wrote them out in a fair hand in the book; and before he destroyed the original paper, he examined and

approved of the copy. In the course of thus dictating from his own writing, he often altered the language, and even the construction of the sentence. Though he generally tore the scraps of paper as soon as the passages were entered in the book, several have been preserved; and it is plain, from the crasures and alterations in them, that they had undergone much revision and correction before they were read to his Amanuensis.

It is necessary to observe, that I am indebted to Mr. Laing, both for advice and assistance in the division of the paragraphs, the annexing of marginal notes and references, the selection of the Appendix, and the superintendence of the press. From his judgment and experience, I have derived great benefit; and his friendship in undertaking the task has afforded me the further satisfaction of reflecting, that I have been guided throughout by that advice to which the Author himself would have wished me on such an occasion to have recourse.

The Appendix consists, with some few exceptions,* of such part of Barillon's correspondence, from the death of Charles the Second to the Prorogation of Parliament in 1685, as Sir John Dalrymple omitted to publish. As the letters of a subsequent date, however curious and interesting, have no relation to the short period of history included in the following Chapters, they have not been annexed to the present publication.

* *The Dispatch*, p. ix.—*Extracts*, pp. xviii. xxviii. xli. lvii. ciii.

This account will be sufficient to explain all the circumstances attending the design, progress, and state of the Work, as well as the manner in which it is now brought before the publick. If any should object to my having entered into so much detail respecting those points, I have no other excuse to offer, than the nature of the task I had undertaken, and the extreme anxiety, that no fault or omission of the Editor should by any possibility be attributed to the Author. Perhaps it may be necessary to forestall an observation of a very different description. Those who admired Mr. Fox in publick, and those who loved him in private, must naturally feel desirous that some memorial should be preserved of the great and good qualities of his head and heart. Some among them may think that the present account should not have been confined to such matters only as relate to the unfinished work to which it is prefixed. It is true that, at the melancholy period of his death, advantage was taken of the interest excited by all that concerned him, to impose upon the publick a variety of memoirs and anecdotes, (in the form of pamphlets,) as unfounded in fact as they were painful to his friends, and injurious to his memory. The confident pretensions with which many of those publications were ushered into the world, may have given them some little circulation at the time; but the internal evidence of their falsehood was sufficiently strong to counteract any impression

which their contents might be calculated to produce. It is not, therefore, with a view of exposing such misrepresentations, that any authentick account of the life of Mr. Fox can be deemed necessary. On the other hand, the objections to such an undertaking at present are obvious; and after much reflection, they have appeared to those connected with him to be insuperable. A compilation of his speeches, or of such transactions of his publick life as are well known, might be, and probably has already been, executed with as much fidelity and success by others, as it could be by those who had the advantage of a closer intimacy or nearer connection with him. If more were attempted, either many interesting passages of his life must be omitted, and truth in some instances suppressed, or circumstances which might wound the feelings of individuals yet living, must be unnecessarily and wantonly disclosed to the publick. No allusion is here made to any particular period, transaction, or person: the observation is general: it applies to the memoirs of every publick man, and must therefore be true in the instance of Mr. Fox.

These considerations have induced his family and friends to relinquish, for the present, any such design. It is, however, a duty to the publick, as well as to the memory of any great and good man, to preserve with the utmost diligence, all the materials which may

enable a future biographer to do justice to the events of his life, and the merits of his character. With this view, the private letters of Mr. Fox have been carefully collected ; and I am already indebted to several of his correspondents for the originals or copies of such as were in their possession. It is hoped, that by these and further communications, the means will be secured of perpetuating the remembrance of his publick and private virtues, and of conveying a faint, but just notion of his character to posterity.

In the mean while, his friends will contemplate with some satisfaction this monument, however imperfect, of his genius and acquirements ; they will recognize throughout the work those noble and elevated principles, which animated his own conduct in life ; and in the simplicity of the thoughts, as well as in the nature of the reflections, they cannot fail to discover a picture of his candid and amiable mind.

VASSALL HOLLAND.

*Holland House,
April 25th, 1808.*

POSTSCRIPT.

May 4.

SINCE the preceding pages were printed, Serjeant Heywood has obligingly communicated to me copies of several letters which he received from Mr. Fox, on subjects connected with his History. They evince the same anxiety about facts, and the same minuteness of research, which have been remarked in his correspondence with Mr. Laing. But some of his readers may be gratified with the perusal of the following, as it contains his view of the character of Lord Shaftesbury, upon which so much difference of opinion has existed among historians.

“ DEAR HEYWOOD,

“ I am much obliged to you for your letter ; of the
 “ hints in which I shall avail myself, when I return to
 “ this place, (as I hope,) before the end of the week. I
 “ go to town to-morrow, and shall be in the House on
 “ Tuesday.

“ I remember most of the passages in Madame de
 “ Sevigné, and will trouble you or Mrs. Heywood to
 “ hunt for another, which I also remember, and which
 “ in some views is of importance. If my memory does

“ not deceive me, in one of the early volumes, while
 “ Barillon is in England, she mentions the reports of
 “ his being getting a great deal of money there ; but I
 “ have not lately been able to find the passage. Pray
 “ observe, that notwithstanding the violence against the
 “ Prince of Orange, Madame de Sevigné’s good sense
 “ and candour make her allow, that there is another
 “ view of the matter, in which the Prince of Orange,
 “ fighting and conquering for a religion, *qu’il croit la*
 “ *vraye*, &c. &c. appears a hero. Her account of James,
 “ both for insensibility and courage, is quite at variance
 “ with his apparent conduct before he went off. Here
 “ he appears to have been deficient in courage, and by
 “ no means in sensibility.

“ I am quite glad I have little to do with Shaftesbury ;
 “ for as to making him a real patriot, or friend to our
 “ ideas of liberty, it is impossible, at least in my opi-
 “ nion. On the other hand, he is very far from being
 “ the devil he is described. Indeed, he seems to have
 “ been strictly a man of honour, if that praise can be
 “ given to one destitute of *public* virtue, and who did
 “ not consider Catholicks as fellow-creatures ; a feeling
 “ very common in those times. Locke was probably
 “ caught by his splendid qualities, his courage, his
 “ openness, his party zeal, his eloquence, his fair deal-
 “ ing with his friends, and his superiority to vulgar
 “ corruption. Locke’s partiality might make him, on

“ the other hand, blind to the indifference with which
“ he (Shaftesbury,) espoused either Monarchical, Arbi-
“ trary, or Republican principles, as best suited his
“ ambition ; but could it make him blind to the relent-
“ less cruelty with which he persecuted the Papists in
“ the affair of the Popish Plot, merely, as it should
“ seem, because it suited the purposes of the party with
“ which he was then engaged?—You know that some
“ of the imputations against him are certainly false ; the
“ shutting up the Exchequer, for instance. But the two
“ great blots of sitting on the Regicides, and his con-
“ duct in the Popish Plot, can never be wiped off.
“ The second Dutch war is a bad business, in which he
“ engaged heartily, and in which (notwithstanding all
“ his apologists say,) he would have persevered, if he
“ had not found the King was cheating him.

“ Your’s ever,

“ C. J. FOX.”

*Sunday, St. Anne’s Hill,
(Chertsey, November 20, 1803.*

Serjeant Heywood, Harpur Street.)

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

C O N T E N T S.

Introductory Observations.—First Period, from Henry VII. to the Year 1588.—Second Period, from 1588 to 1640.—Meeting of Parliament.—Redress of Grievances.—Strafford's Attainder.—The commencement of the Civil War.—Treaty from the Isle of Wight.—The King's Execution.—Cromwell's Power;—his Character.—Indifference of the Nation respecting Forms of Government.—The Restoration.—Ministry of Clarendon and Southampton.—Cabal.—Dutch War.—De Witt.—The Prince of Orange.—The Popish Plot.—The Habeas Corpus Act.—The Exclusion Bill.—Dissolution of Charles the Second's last Parliament.—His Power ;—his Tyranny in Scotland ; in England.—Exorbitant Fines.—Executions.—Forfeitures of Charters. — Despotism established. — Despondency of good Men.—Charles's Death.—His Character.—Reflections upon the probable Consequences of his Reign and Death.

A

HISTORY, &c.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

IN reading the history of every country, there are certain periods at which the mind naturally pauses, to meditate upon, and consider them, with reference, not only to their immediate effects, but to their more remote consequences. After the wars of Marius and Sylla, and the incorporation, as it were, of all Italy with the city of Rome, we cannot but stop, to consider the consequences likely to result from these important events; and in this instance we find them to be just such as might have been expected.

CHAPTER
I.

Introductory
Observations

The reign of our Henry the Seventh affords a field of more doubtful speculation. Every one who takes a retrospective view of the wars of York and

First Period,
from the ac-
cession of
Henry VII. to
the year 1588

CHAPTER I. Lancaster, and attends to the regulations effected by the policy of that prince, must see they would necessarily lead to great and important changes in the government; but what the tendency of such changes would be, and much more, in what manner they would be produced, might be a question of great difficulty. It is now the generally received opinion, and I think a probable opinion, that, to the provisions of that reign, we are to refer the origin, both of the unlimited power of the Tudors, and of the liberties wrested by our ancestors from the Stuarts; that tyranny was their immediate, and liberty their remote, consequence; but he must have great confidence in his own sagacity, who can satisfy himself, that, unaided by the knowledge of subsequent events, he could, from a consideration of the causes, have foreseen the succession of effects so different.

Second Period, from
1588 to 1640.

Another period, that affords ample scope for speculation of this kind, is that which is comprised between the years fifteen hundred and eighty-eight, and sixteen hundred and forty; a period of almost uninterrupted tranquillity and peace. The general improvement in all arts of civil life, and above all, the astonishing progress of literature, are the most striking among the general features of that period; and are in themselves causes sufficient to produce

effects of the utmost importance. A country whose language was enriched by the works of Hooker, Raleigh, and Bacon, could not but experience a sensible change in its manners, and in its style of thinking; and even to speak the same language in which Spenser and Shakespeare had written, seemed a sufficient plea to rescue the Commons of England from the appellation of Brutes, with which Henry the Eighth had addressed them. Among the more particular effects of this general improvement, the most material, and worthy to be considered, appear to me to have been the frequency of debate in the House of Commons, and the additional value that came to be set on a seat in that assembly.

From these circumstances, a sagacious observer may be led to expect the most important revolutions; and from the latter, he may be enabled to foresee that the House of Commons will be the principal instrument in bringing them to pass. But in what manner will that House conduct itself? Will it content itself with its regular share of legislative power, and with the influence which it cannot fail to possess, whenever it exerts itself upon the other branches of the legislative, and on the executive power? or will it boldly (perhaps rashly) pretend to a power commensurate with the natural rights of

CHAPTER I. the representative of the people? If it should, will it not be obliged to support its claims by military force? and how long will such a force be under its controul? how long before it follows the usual course of all armies, and ranges itself under a single master? If such a master should arise, will he establish an hereditary, or an elective government? if the first, what will be gained but a change of dynasty? If the second, will not the military force, as it chose the first king or protector (the name is of no importance) choose in effect all his successors? Or will he fail, and shall we have a restoration, usually the most dangerous and worst of all revolutions? To some of these questions the answers may, from the experience of past ages, be easy, but to many of them far otherwise. And he will read history with most profit, who the most canvasses questions of this nature, especially if he can divest his mind for the time, of the recollection of the event as it in fact succeeded.

Third Period. The next period, as it is that which immediately precedes the commencement of this History, requires a more detailed examination; nor is there any more fertile of matter, whether for reflection or speculation. Between the year sixteen hundred and forty, and the death of Charles the Second, we have the opportu-

nity of contemplating the state in almost every variety of circumstance. Religious dispute, political contest in all its forms and degrees, from the honest exertions of party, and the corrupt intrigues of faction, to violence and civil war; despotism, first in the person of an usurper, and afterwards in that of an hereditary king; the most memorable and salutary improvements in the laws, the most abandoned administration of them; in fine, whatever can happen to a nation, whether of glorious or calamitous, makes a part of this astonishing and instructive picture.

The commencement of this period is marked by exertions of the people, through their representatives in the House of Commons, not only justifiable in their principle, but directed to the properest objects, and in a manner the most judicious. Many of their leaders were greatly versed in ancient as well as modern learning, and were even enthusiastically attached to the great names of antiquity; but they never conceived the wild project of assimilating the government of England to that of Athens, of Sparta, or of Rome. They were content with applying to the English constitution, and to the English laws, the spirit of liberty which had animated, and rendered illustrious, the ancient republics. Their first object was to obtain redress of past grievances with

CHAPTER
I.

1640.

Redress of
grievances.

CHAPTER I. a proper regard to the individuals who had suffered; the next, to prevent the recurrence of such grievances, by the abolition of tyrannical tribunals acting upon arbitrary maxims in criminal proceedings, and most improperly denominated courts of justice. They then proceeded to establish that fundamental principle of all free government, the preserving of the purse to the people and their representatives. And though there may be more difference of opinion upon their proposed regulations in regard to the militia, yet surely, when a contest was to be foreseen, they could not, consistently with prudence, leave the power of the sword altogether in the hands of an adverse party.

Lord Strafford's attainder.

The prosecution of Lord Strafford, or rather the manner in which it was carried on, is less justifiable. He was doubtless a great delinquent, and well deserved the severest punishment; but nothing short of a clearly proved case of self-defence can justify, or even excuse, a departure from the sacred rules of criminal justice. For it can rarely indeed happen, that the mischief to be apprehended from suffering any criminal, however guilty, to escape, can be equal to that resulting from the violation of those rules to which the innocent owe the security of all that is dear to them. If such cases have existed,

they must have been in instances where trial has been wholly out of the question, as in that of Cæsar, and other tyrants; but when a man is once in a situation to be tried, and his person in the power of his accusers and his judges, he can no longer be formidable in that degree which alone can justify, (if any thing can,) the violation of the substantial rules of criminal proceedings.

At the breaking out of the civil war, so intemperately denominated a rebellion by Lord Clarendon and other Tory writers, the material question appears to me to be, whether or not sufficient attempts were made by the Parliament and their leaders, to avoid bringing affairs to such a decision? That according to the general principles of morality, they had justice on their side, cannot fairly be doubted; but did they sufficiently attend to that great dictum of Tully,* in questions of civil dissension, wherein he declares his preference of even an unfair peace to the most just war? Did they sufficiently weigh the dangers that might ensue even from victory; dangers, in such cases, little less formidable to the cause of liberty than those which might follow a defeat? Did they consider that it is not peculiar to the followers of Pompey, and the civil wars of Rome, that

CHAPTER
I.

Commence-
ment of the
Civil War.

* Iniquissimam pacem justissimo bello antefero.

CHAPTER I.
 ——— the event to be looked for is, as the same Tully describes it, in case of defeat,—proscription; in that of victory,—servitude? Is the failure of the negotiation when the King was in the Isle of Wight to be imputed to the suspicions justly entertained of his sincerity? or to the ambition of the parliamentary leaders? If the insincerity of the King was the real cause, ought not the mischief to be apprehended from his insincerity, rather to have been guarded against by treaty, than alledged as a pretence for breaking off the negotiation? Sad indeed will be the condition of the world, if we are never to make peace with an adverse party whose sincerity we have reason to suspect. Even just grounds for such suspicions will but too often occur, and when such fail, the proneness of man to impute evil qualities as well as evil designs to his enemies, will suggest false ones. In the present case, the suspicion of insincerity was, it is true, so just, as to amount to a moral certainty. The example of the Petition of Right was a satisfactory proof that the King made no point of adhering to concessions which he considered as extorted from him; and if a philosophical historian, writing above a century after the time, can deem the pretended hard usage Charles met with, as a sufficient excuse for his breaking his faith in the first

Treaty of the
Isle of Wight.

instance, much more must that prince himself, with all his prejudices, and notions of his divine right, have thought it justifiable to retract concessions, which to him, no doubt, appeared far more unreasonable than the Petition of Right, and which, with much more colour, he might consider as extorted. These considerations were probably the cause why the Parliament so long delayed their determination of accepting the King's offer as a basis for treaty; but unfortunately, they had delayed so long, that when at last they adopted it, they found themselves without power to carry it into execution. The army having now ceased to be the servants, had become the masters of the Parliament, and being entirely influenced by Cromwell, gave a commencement to what may, properly speaking, be called a new reign. The subsequent measures, therefore, the execution of the King, as well as others, are not to be considered as acts of the Parliament, but of Cromwell; and great and respectable as are the names of some who sat in the high court, they must be regarded, in this instance, rather as ministers of that usurper, than as acting from themselves.

The execution of the King, though a far less violent measure than that of Lord Strafford, is an event of so singular a nature, that we cannot wonder that it

King's Execution.

CHAPTER I. should have excited more sensation than any other
— in the annals of England. This exemplary act of substantial justice, as it has been called by some, of enormous wickedness by others, must be considered in two points of view. First, was it not in itself just and necessary? Secondly, was the example of it likely to be salutary or pernicious? In regard to the first of these questions, Mr. Hume, not perhaps intentionally, makes the best justification of it, by saying, that while Charles lived, the projected republick could never be secure. But to justify taking away the life of an individual, upon the principle of self-defence, the danger must be not problematical and remote, but evident and immediate. The danger in this instance was not of such a nature; and the imprisonment, or even banishment, of Charles, might have given to the republick such a degree of security as any government ought to be content with. It must be confessed however on the other side, that if the republican government had suffered the King to escape, it would have been an act of justice and generosity wholly unexampled; and to have granted him even his life, would have been one among the more rare efforts of virtue. The short interval between the deposal and death of princes is become proverbial; and though there may be some few examples on

the other side, as far as life is concerned, I doubt whether a single instance can be found, where liberty has been granted to a deposed monarch. Among the modes of destroying persons in such a situation, there can be little doubt but that adopted by Cromwell and his adherents is the least dishonourable. Edward the Second, Richard the Second, Henry the Sixth, Edward the Fifth, had none of them long survived their deposal; but this was the first instance, in our history at least, where, of such an act, it could be truly said, that it was not done in a corner.

As to the second question, whether the advantage to be derived from the example was such as to justify an act of such violence, it appears to me to be a complete solution of it to observe, that with respect to England, (and I know not upon what ground we are to set examples for other nations, or in other words, to take the criminal justice of the world into our hands,) it was wholly needless, and therefore unjustifiable, to set one for kings, at a time when it was intended the office of King should be abolished, and consequently, that no person should be in the situation to make it the rule of his conduct. Besides, the miseries attendant upon a deposed monarch, seem to be sufficient to deter any prince, who thinks of consequences, from running the risk of being

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placed in such a situation; or, if death be the only evil that can deter him, the fate of former tyrants deposed by their subjects, would by no means encourage him to hope he could avoid even that catastrophe. As far as we can judge from the event, the example was certainly not very effectual, since both the sons of Charles, though having their father's fate before their eyes, yet feared not to violate the liberties of the people even more than he had attempted to do.

If we consider this question of example in a more extended view, and look to the general effect produced upon the minds of men, it cannot be doubted but the opportunity thus given to Charles, to display his firmness and piety, has created more respect for his memory than it could otherwise have obtained. Respect and pity for the sufferer on one hand, and hatred to his enemies on the other, soon produce favour and aversion to their respective causes; and thus, even though it should be admitted, (which is doubtful,) that some advantage may have been gained to the cause of liberty, by the terror of the example operating upon the minds of princes, such advantage is far outweighed by the zeal which admiration for virtue, and pity for sufferings, the best passions of the human heart, have excited in favour of the royal cause. It has

been thought dangerous to the morals of mankind, even in fiction and romance, to make us sympathize with characters whose general conduct is blameable ; but how much greater must the effect be, when in real history our feelings are interested in favour of a monarch with whom, to say the least, his subjects were obliged to contend in arms for their liberty? After all, however, notwithstanding what the more reasonable part of mankind may think upon this question, it is much to be doubted whether this singular proceeding has not, as much as any other circumstance, served to raise the character of the English nation in the opinion of Europe in general. He who has read, and still more he who has heard in conversation, discussions upon this subject by foreigners, must have perceived, that, even in the minds of those who condemn the act, the impression made by it has been far more that of respect and admiration, than that of disgust and horror. The truth is, that the guilt of the action, that is to say, the taking away of the life of the King, is what most men in the place of Cromwell and his associates would have incurred ; what there is of splendour and of magnanimity in it, I mean the publicity and solemnity of the act, is what few would be capable of displaying. It is a degrading fact to human

CHAPTER
I.Sentiments of
Foreigners on
the act.

CHAPTER I. nature, that even the sending away of the Duke of Gloucester was an instance of generosity almost unexampled in the history of transactions of this nature.

Cromwell's
government.

From the execution of the King to the death of Cromwell, the government was, with some variation of forms, in substance monarchical and absolute, as a government established by a military force will almost invariably be, especially when the exertions of such a force are continued for any length of time. If to this general rule our own age, and a people whom their origin and near relation to us would almost warrant us to call our own nation, have afforded a splendid and perhaps a solitary exception, we must reflect not only, that a character of virtues so happily tempered by one another, and so wholly unalloyed with any vices, as that of Washington, is hardly to be found in the pages of history, but that even Washington himself might not have been able to act his most glorious of all parts, without the existence of circumstances uncommonly favourable, and almost peculiar to the country which was to be the theatre of it. Virtue like his depends not indeed upon time or place ; but although in no country or time would he have degraded himself into a Pisistratus, or a Cæsar, or a Cromwell, he

might have shared the fate of a Cato, or a De Witt; or, like Ludlow and Sidney, have mourned in exile the lost liberties of his country. CHAPTER
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With the life of the Protector almost immediately ended the government which he had established. The great talents of this extraordinary person had supported, during his life, a system condemned equally by reason and by prejudice ; by reason, as wanting freedom ; by prejudice, as an usurpation ; and it must be confessed to be no mean testimony to his genius, that, notwithstanding the radical defects of such a system, the splendour of his character and exploits render the æra of the Protectorship one of the most brilliant in English history. It is true his conduct in foreign concerns, is set off to advantage, by a comparison of it with that of those who preceded, and who followed him. If he made a mistake in espousing the French interest instead of the Spanish, we should recollect, that in examining this question we must divest our minds entirely of all the considerations which the subsequent relative state of those two empires suggest to us, before we can become impartial judges in it ; and at any rate, we must allow his reign, in regard to European concerns, to have been most glorious when contrasted with the pusillanimity of James the First, with the His charac-
ter.

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levity of Charles the First, and the mercenary meanness of the two last Princes of the House of Stuart. Upon the whole, the character of Cromwell must ever stand high in the list of those, who raised themselves to supreme power by the force of their genius; and among such, even in respect of moral virtue, it would be found to be one of the least exceptionable, if it had not been tainted with that most odious and degrading of all human vices, Hypocrisy.

Indifference
respecting
forms of go-
vernment.

The short interval between Cromwell's death and the Restoration, exhibits the picture of a nation either so wearied with changes as not to feel, or so subdued by military power as not to dare to show, any care or even preference with regard to the form of their government. All was in the army; and that army, by such a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances as history teaches us not to be surprised at, had fallen into the hands of one, than whom a baser could not be found in its lowest ranks.

Character of
Monk.

Personal courage appears to have been Monk's only virtue: reserve and dissimulation made up the whole stock of his wisdom. But to this man did the nation look up, ready to receive from his orders the form of government he should choose to prescribe. There is reason to believe, that, from the general bias of the Presbyterians, as well as of the Cavaliers, monarchy

was the prevalent wish ; but it is observable that al-
 though the Parliament was, contrary to the principle
 upon which it was pretended to be called, composed
 of many avowed royalists, yet none dared to hint at the
 restoration of the King, till they had Monk's permis-
 sion, or rather command, to receive and consider his
 letters. It is impossible, in reviewing the whole of
 this transaction, not to remark that a general who had
 gained his rank, reputation, and station in the ser-
 vice of a republick, and of what he, as well as others,
 called, however falsely, the cause of liberty, made
 no scruple to lay the nation prostrate at the feet of
 a monarch, without a single provision in favour of
 that cause ; and if the promise of indemnity may
 seem to argue that there was some attention, at least,
 paid to the safety of his associates in arms, his
 subsequent conduct gives reason to suppose, that
 even this provision was owing to any other cause,
 rather than to any generous feeling of his breast.
 For he afterwards not only acquiesced in the insults
 so meanly put upon the illustrious corpse of Blake,
 under whose auspices and command he had per-
 formed the most creditable services of his life, but
 in the trial of Argyle, produced letters of friendship
 and confidence, to take away the life of a nobleman,*

* Burnet. Baillie's Letters, II. 431.

CHAPTER I. the zeal and cordiality of whose co-operation with
 ——— him, proved by such documents, was the chief
 ground of his execution ; thus gratuitously surpass-
 ing in infamy those miserable wretches who, to save
 their own lives, are sometimes persuaded to impeach,
 and swear away, the lives of their accomplices.

Restoration.
 1660.

The reign of Charles the Second forms one of the
 most singular, as well as of the most important periods
 of history. It is the æra of good laws and bad go-
 vernment. The abolition of the Court of Wards, the
 repeal of the writ *De Heretico Comburendo*, the tri-
 ennial Parliament Bill, the establishment of the rights
 of the House of Commons in regard to impeachment,
 the expiration of the License Act, and above all, the
 glorious statute of *Habeas Corpus*, have therefore
 induced a modern writer of great eminence to fix
 the year 1679 as the period at which our constitution
 had arrived at its greatest theoretical perfection ; but
 he owns, in a short note upon the passage alluded to,
 that the times immediately following were times of
 great practical oppression. What a field for meditation
 does this short observation, from such a man, furnish !
 What reflections does it not suggest to a thinking mind,
 upon the inefficacy of human laws, and the imper-
 fection of human constitutions ! We are called from
 the contemplation of the progress of our constitution,

and our attention fixed with the most minute accuracy to a particular point, when it is said to have risen to its utmost perfection. Here we are then at the best moment of the best constitution that ever human wisdom framed. What follows? A time of oppression and misery, not arising from external or accidental causes, such as war, pestilence, or famine, nor even from any such alteration of the laws as might be supposed to impair this boasted perfection, but from a corrupt and wicked administration, which all the so much admired checks of the constitution were not able to prevent. How vain then, how idle, how presumptuous, is the opinion, that laws can do every thing! and how weak and pernicious the maxim founded upon it, that measures, not men, are to be attended to!

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I.

The first years of this reign, under the administration of Southampton and Clarendon, form by far the least exceptionable part of it; and even in this period, the executions of Argyle and Vane, and the whole conduct of the government, with respect to church matters, both in England and in Scotland, were gross instances of tyranny. With respect to the execution of those who were accused of having been more immediately concerned in the King's death, that of Scrope, who had come in upon the proclama-

Administra-
tion of South-
ampton and
Clarendon.

CHAPTER I. tion, and of the military officers who had attended
—— the trial, was a violation of every principle of law and justice. But the fate of the others, though highly dishonourable to Monk, whose whole power had arisen from his zeal in their service, and the favour and confidence with which they had rewarded him, and not perhaps very creditable to the nation, of which many had applauded, more had supported, and almost all had acquiesced in the act, is not certainly to be imputed as a crime to the King, or to those of his advisers who were of the Cavalier party. The passion of revenge, though properly condemned both by philosophy and religion, yet when it is excited by injurious treatment of persons justly dear to us, is among the most excusable of human frailties; and if Charles, in his general conduct, had shown stronger feelings of gratitude for services performed to his father, his character, in the eyes of many, would be rather raised than lowered by this example of severity against the regicides. Clarendon is said to have been privy to the King's receiving money from Lewis the Fourteenth; but what proofs exist of this charge, (for a heavy charge it is,) I know not. Southampton was one of the very few of the royalist party who preserved any just regard for the liberties of the people, and the disgust which a person

possessed of such sentiments must unavoidably feel, is said to have determined him to quit the King's service, and to retire altogether from publick affairs. Whether he would have acted upon this determination, his death, which happened in the year sixteen hundred and sixty-seven, prevents us now from ascertaining.

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I.

After the fall of Clarendon, which soon followed, the King entered into that career of misgovernment, which, that he was able to pursue it to its end, is a disgrace to the history of our country. If any thing can add to our disgust at the meanness with which he solicited a dependence upon Lewis the Fourteenth, it is the hypocritical pretence upon which he was continually pressing that monarch. After having passed a law, making it penal to affirm, (what was true,) that he was a Papist, he pretended, (which was certainly not true,) to be a zealous and bigoted Papist; and the uneasiness of his conscience at so long delaying a publick avowal of his conversion, was more than once urged by him, as an argument to increase the pension, and to accelerate the assistance he was to receive from France.* In a later period of his reign, when his interest, as he thought, lay the other way, that he might at once continue to earn his wages;

The King's
misgovern-
ment.

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, II. 33, &c.

CHAPTER I. — and yet put off a publick conversion, he stated some scruples, contracted, no doubt, by his affection to the Protestant churches, in relation to the Popish mode of giving the sacrament; and pretended a wish, that the Pope might be induced by Lewis, to consider of some alterations in that respect, to enable him to reconcile himself to the Roman church with a clear and pure conscience.*

Cabal.
1670.

The ministry, known by the name of the Cabal, seems to have consisted of characters so unprincipled, as justly to deserve the severity with which they have been treated by all writers who have mentioned them; but if it is probable, that they were ready to betray their King, as well as their country, it is certain that the King betrayed them; keeping from them the real state of his connection with France, and, from some of them, at least, the secret of what he was pleased to call his religion. Whether this concealment on his part, arose from his habitual treachery, and from the incapacity which men of that character feel, of being open and honest, even when they know it is their interest to be so; or from an apprehension that they might demand for themselves some share of the French money, which he was unwilling to give them, cannot now be determined.

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, II. 84.

But to the want of genuine and reciprocal confidence CHAPTER
I.
————
between him and those ministers, is to be attributed, in a great measure, the escape which the nation at that time experienced; an escape, however, which proved to be only a reprieve from that servitude to which they were afterwards reduced in the latter years of the reign.

The first Dutch war had been undertaken against Dutch War.
all maxims of policy, as well as of justice; but the superiour infamy of the second, aggravated by the disappointment of all the hopes entertained by good men, from the triple alliance, and by the treacherous attempt at piracy with which it was commenced, seems to have effaced the impression of it, not only from the minds of men living at the time, but from most of the writers who have treated of this reign. 1672. The principle, however, of both was the same, and arbitrary power at home was the object of both. The second Dutch war rendered the King's system and views so apparent to all who were not determined to shut their eyes against conviction, that it is difficult to conceive how persons, who had any real care or regard, either for the liberty or honour of the country, could trust him afterwards. And yet even Sir William Temple, who appears to have been one of the most honest, as well as of the most enlightened,

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 — statesmen of his time, could not believe his treachery to be quite so deep, as it was in fact ; and seems occasionally to have hoped, that he was in earnest in his professed intentions of following the wise and just system that was recommended to him. Great instances of credulity and blindness in wise men are often liable to the suspicion of being pretended, for the purpose of justifying the continuing in situations of power and employment longer than strict honour would allow. But to Temple's sincerity his subsequent conduct gives abundant testimony. When he had reason to think that his services could no longer be useful to his country, he withdrew wholly from publick business, and resolutely adhered to the preference of philosophical retirement, which, in his circumstances, was just, in spite of every temptation which occurred to bring him back to the more active scene. The remainder of his life he seems to have employed in the most noble contemplations, and the most elegant amusements ; every enjoyment heightened, no doubt, by reflecting on the honourable part he had acted in publick affairs, and without any regret on his own account, (whatever he might feel for his country,) at having been driven from them.

De Witt.

Besides the important consequences produced by this second Dutch war in England, it gave birth to two

great events in Holland ; the one as favourable, as the other was disastrous, to the cause of general liberty. CHAPTER
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The catastrophe of De Witt, the wisest, best, and most truly patriotick minister that ever appeared upon the publick stage, as it was an act of the most crying injustice and ingratitude, so likewise is it the most completely discouraging example, that history affords to the lovers of liberty. If Aristides was banished, he was also recalled: if Dion was repaid for his services to the Syracusans by ingratitude, that ingratitude was more than once repented of: if Sidney and Russel died upon the scaffold, they had not the cruel mortification of falling by the hands of the people: ample justice was done to their memory, and the very sound of their names is still animating to every Englishman attached to their glorious cause. But with De Witt fell also his cause and his party; and although a name so respected by all who revere virtue and wisdom, when employed in their noblest sphere, the political service of the publick, must undoubtedly be doubly dear to his countrymen, yet I do not know that, even to this day, any publick honours have been paid by them to his memory.

On the other hand, the circumstances attending the first appearance of the Prince of Orange in publick affairs, were in every respect most fortunate for

CHAPTER I. himself, for England, for Europe. Of an age to receive the strongest impressions, and of a character to render such impressions durable, he entered the world in a moment when the calamitous situation of the United Provinces, could not but excite, in every Dutchman, the strongest detestation of the insolent ambition of Lewis the Fourteenth, and the greatest contempt of an English government, which could so far mistake, or betray, the interests of the country, as to lend itself to his projects. Accordingly, the circumstances attending his outset seem to have given a lasting bias to his character; and through the whole course of his life, the prevailing sentiments of his mind seem to have been those which he imbibed at this early period. These sentiments were most peculiarly adapted to the positions in which this great man was destined to be placed. The light in which he viewed Lewis rendered him the fittest champion of the independence of Europe; and in England, French influence and arbitrary power were in those times so intimately connected, that he who had not only seen with disapprobation, but had so sensibly felt, the baneful effects of Charles's connection with France, seemed educated, as it were, to be the defender of English liberty. This prince's struggles in defence of his country, his success in rescuing it from

a situation to all appearance so desperate, and the consequent failure and mortification of Lewis the Fourteenth, form a scene in history upon which the mind dwells with unceasing delight. One never can read Lewis's famous Declaration against the Hollanders, knowing the event which is to follow, without feeling the heart dilate with exultation, and a kind of triumphant contempt, which, though not quite consonant to the principles of pure philosophy, never fails to give the mind inexpressible satisfaction. Did the relation of such events form the sole, or even any considerable part of the historian's task, pleasant indeed would be his labours; but, though far less agreeable, it is not a less useful or necessary part of his business, to relate the triumphs of successful wickedness, and the oppression of truth, justice, and liberty.

The interval from the separate peace between England and the United Provinces, to the peace of Nimeguen, was chiefly employed by Charles in attempts to obtain money from France and other foreign powers, in which he was sometimes more, sometimes less successful; and in various false professions, promises, and other devices to deceive his parliament and his people, in which he uniformly failed. Though neither the nature and extent of his

CHAPTER
1.
The conduct
and designs
of Charles.
1674.
1678.

CHAPTER I. connection with France, nor his design of introducing Popery into England, were known at that time, as they now are, yet there were not wanting many indications of the King's disposition, and of the general tendency of his designs. Reasonable persons apprehended that the supplies asked were intended to be used, not for the specious purpose of maintaining the balance of Europe, but for that of subduing the parliament and people who should give them; and the great antipathy of the bulk of the nation to Popery caused many to be both more clear-sighted in discovering, and more resolute in resisting, the designs of the court, than they would probably have shown themselves, if civil liberty alone had been concerned.

Disposition
of the Nation

Popish Plot,
1678.

When the minds of men were in the disposition which such a state of things was naturally calculated to produce, it is not to be wondered at, that a ready, and perhaps a too facile, belief should have been accorded to the rumour of a Popish plot. But with the largest possible allowance for the just apprehensions which were entertained, and the consequent irritation of the country, it is wholly inconceivable how such a plot as that brought forward by Tongue and Oates could obtain any general belief. Nor can any stretch of candour make us admit it to be probable,

that all who pretended a belief of it did seriously entertain it. On the other hand, it seems an absurdity, equal almost in degree to the belief of the plot itself, to suppose that it was a story fabricated by the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the other leaders of the Whig party; and it would be highly unjust, as well as uncharitable, not to admit, that the generality of those who were engaged in the prosecution of it were probably sincere in their belief of it, since it is unquestionable that at the time very many persons, whose political prejudices were of a quite different complexion, were under the same delusion. The unanimous votes of the two Houses of Parliament, and the names, as well as the number, of those who pronounced Lord Stafford to be guilty, seem to put this beyond a doubt. Dryden, writing soon after the time, says, in his *Absalom and Achitophel*, that the plot was

CHAPTER
I.

The belief of
the plot uni-
versal.

“ Bad in itself, but represented worse:”

that

“ Some truth there was, but dash’d and brew’d with lies:”
and that

“ Succeeding times did equal folly call

“ Believing nothing, or believing all.”

and Dryden will not, by those who are conversant in the history and works of that immortal writer,

CHAPTER I. — he suspected either of party prejudice in favour of Shaftesbury and the Whigs, or of any view to prejudice the country against the Duke of York's succession to the crown. The King repeatedly declared his belief of it. These declarations, if sincere, would have some weight; but if insincere, as may be reasonably suspected, they afford a still stronger testimony to prove that such belief was not exclusively a party opinion, since it cannot be supposed, that even the crooked politicks of Charles could have led him to countenance fictions of his enemies, which were not adopted by his own party. Wherefore, if this question were to be decided upon the ground of authority, the reality of the plot would be admitted; and it must be confessed, that, with regard to facts remote, in respect either of time or place, wise men generally diffide in their own judgment, and defer to that of those who have had a nearer view of them. But there are cases where reason speaks so plainly as to make all argument drawn from authority of no avail, and this is surely one of them. Not to mention correspondence by post on the subject of regicide, detailed commissions from the Pope, silver bullets, &c. &c. and other circumstances equally ridiculous, we need only advert to the part attributed to the Spanish

Its absurdity.

government in this conspiracy, and to the alledged intention of murdering the King, to satisfy ourselves that it was a forgery. CHAPTER
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Rapin, who argues the whole of this affair with a degree of weakness as well as disingenuity very unusual to him, seems at last to offer us a kind of compromise, and to be satisfied if we will admit that there was a design or project to introduce Popery and arbitrary power, at the head of which were the King and his brother. Of this I am as much convinced as he can be; but how does this justify the prosecution and execution of those who suffered, since few, if any of them, were in a situation to be trusted by the royal conspirators with their designs? When he says therefore, that, that is precisely what was understood by the conspiracy, he by no means justifies those who were the principal prosecutors of the plot. The design to murder the King, he calls the appendage of the plot: a strange expression this, to describe the projected murder of a king! though not more strange than the notion itself when applied to a plot, the object of which was to render that very king absolute, and to introduce the religion which he most favoured. But it is to be observed, that though in considering the Bill of Exclusion, the Militia Bill, and other

Disingenuous
justification
of it.

CHAPTER I. legislative proceedings, the plot, as he defines it, — that is to say, the design of introducing Popery and arbitrary power, was the important point to be looked to; yet in courts of justice, and for juries and judges, that which he calls the appendage was, generally speaking, the sole consideration.

The proceedings on it disgraceful to the nation.

Although therefore, upon a review of this truly shocking transaction, we may be fairly justified in adopting the milder alternative, and in imputing to the greater part of those concerned in it, rather an extraordinary degree of blind credulity, than the deliberate wickedness of planning and assisting in the perpetration of legal murders; yet the proceedings on the Popish plot must always be considered as an indelible disgrace upon the English nation, in which King, Parliament, judges, juries, witnesses, prosecutors, have all their respective, though certainly not equal, shares. Witnesses, of such a character as not to deserve credit in the most trifling cause, upon the most immaterial facts, gave evidence so incredible, or, to speak more properly, so impossible to be true, that it ought not to have been believed if it had come from the mouth of Cato; and upon such evidence, from such witnesses, were innocent men condemned to death and executed. Prosecutors, whether attornies

and solicitors-general, or managers of impeachment, acted with the fury which in such circumstances might be expected; juries partook naturally enough of the national ferment; and judges, whose duty it was to guard them against such impressions, were scandalously active in confirming them in their prejudices, and inflaming their passions. The King, who is supposed to have disbelieved the whole of the plot, never once exercised his glorious prerogative of mercy. It is said he dared not. His throne, perhaps his life, was at stake; and history does not furnish us with the example of any monarch with whom the lives of innocent, or even meritorious, subjects ever appeared to be of much weight, when put in balance against such considerations.

The measures of the prevailing party in the House of Commons, in these times, appear, (with the exception of their dreadful proceedings in the business of the pretended plot, and of their violence towards those who petitioned and addressed against Parliament,) to have been, in general, highly laudable and meritorious; and yet I am afraid it may be justly suspected, that it was precisely to that part of their conduct which related to the plot, and which is most reprehensible, that

Habeas
Corpus Act.
1675.

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I.
————

they were indebted for their power to make the noble, and, and in some instances successful, struggles for liberty, which do so much honour to their memory. The danger to be apprehended from military force, being always, in the view of wise men, the most urgent, they first voted the disbanding of the army, and the two Houses passed a bill for that purpose, to which the King found himself obliged to consent. But to the bill which followed, for establishing the regular assembling of the militia, and for providing for their being in arms six weeks in the year, he opposed his royal negative; thus making his stand upon the same point on which his father had done; a circumstance which, if events had taken a turn against him, would not have failed of being much noticed by historians. Civil securities for freedom came to be afterwards considered; and it is to be remarked, that to these times of heat and passion, and to one of those parliaments, which so disgraced themselves and the nation, by the countenance given to Oates and Bedloe, and by the persecution of so many innocent victims, we are indebted for the Habeas Corpus Act, the most important barrier against tyranny, and best framed protection for the liberty of individuals, that has ever existed in any ancient or modern commonwealth.

But the inefficacy of mere laws in favour of the subjects, in the case of the administration of them falling into the hands of persons hostile to the spirit in which they had been provided, had been so fatally evinced by the general history of England, ever since the grant of the Great Charter, and more especially by the transactions of the preceding reign, that the Parliament justly deemed their work incomplete, unless the Duke of York were excluded from the succession to the crown. A bill, therefore, for the purpose of excluding that Prince, was prepared, and passed the House of Commons; but being vigorously resisted by the court, by the church, and by the Tories, was lost in the House of Lords. The restrictions offered by the King to be put upon a Popish successor are supposed to have been among the most powerful of those means to which he was indebted for his success.

CHAPTER
I.
—
Exclusion
Bill.
1679.

The dispute was no longer, whether or not the dangers resulting from James's succession were real, and such as ought to be guarded against by parliamentary provisions; but whether the exclusion, or restrictions, furnished the most safe, and eligible mode of compassing the object which both sides pretended to have in view. The argument upon this state of

Observations
upon it.

CHAPTER I. the question is clearly, forcibly, and, I think, convincingly, stated by Rapin, who exposes very ably the extreme folly of trusting to measures, without consideration of the men who are to execute them. Even in Hume's statement of the question, whatever may have been his intention, the arguments in favour of the exclusion appear to me greatly to preponderate. Indeed it is not easy to conceive upon what principles even the Tories could justify their support of the restrictions. Many among them, no doubt, saw the provisions in the same light in which the Whigs represented them, as an expedient, admirably indeed adapted to the real object of upholding the present King's power, by the defeat of the exclusion, but never likely to take effect for their pretended purpose of controuling that of his successor; and supported them for that very reason. But such a principle of conduct was too fraudulent to be avowed; nor ought it perhaps, in candour, to be imputed to the majority of the party. To those who acted with good faith, and meant that the restrictions should really take place, and be effectual, surely it ought to have occurred, (and to those who most prized the prerogatives of the crown, it ought most forcibly to have occurred,) that in consenting to curtail the powers of the crown, rather than to

alter the succession, they were adopting the greater, in order to avoid the lesser evil. The question of, what are to be the powers of the crown, is surely of superiour importance to that of, who shall wear it? Those, at least, who consider the royal prerogative as vested in the King, not for his sake, but for that of his subjects, must consider the one of these questions as much above the other in dignity, as the rights of the public are more valuable than those of an individual. In this view the prerogatives of the crown are in substance and effect the rights of the people; and these rights of the people were not to be sacrificed to the purpose of preserving the succession to the most favoured prince, much less to one who, on account of his religious persuasion, was justly feared and suspected. In truth, the question between the exclusion and restrictions seems peculiarly calculated to ascertain the different views in which the different parties in this country have seen, and perhaps ever will see, the prerogatives of the crown. The Whigs, who consider them as a trust for the people, a doctrine which the Tories themselves, when pushed in argument, will sometimes admit, naturally think it their duty rather to change the manager of the trust, than to impair the subject of it; while others, who consider them as

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the right or property of the King, will as naturally act as they would do in the case of any other property, and consent to the loss or annihilation of any part of it, for the purpose of preserving the remainder to him, whom they style the rightful owner. If the people be the sovereign, and the King the delegate, it is better to change the bailiff than to injure the farm; but if the King be the proprietor, it is better the farm should be impaired, nay, part of it destroyed, than that the whole should pass over to an usurper. The royal prerogative ought, according to the Whigs, (not in the case of a Popish successour only, but in all cases,) to be reduced to such powers as are in their exercise beneficial to the people; and of the benefit of these they will not rashly suffer the people to be deprived, whether the executive power be in the hands of an hereditary, or of an elected king; of a regent, or of any other denomination of magistrate; while on the other hand, they who consider prerogative with reference only to royalty, will, with equal readiness, consent either to the extension or the suspension of its exercise, as the occasional interests of the prince may seem to require. The senseless plea of a divine and indefesible right in James, which even the legislature was incompetent to set aside, though as

inconsistent with the declarations of Parliament in the Statute Book, and with the whole practice of the English Constitution, as it is repugnant to nature and common sense, was yet warmly insisted upon by the high-church party. Such an argument, as might naturally be expected, operated rather to provoke the Whigs to perseverance, than to dissuade them from their measure: it was, in their eyes, an additional merit belonging to the Exclusion Bill, that it strengthened, by one instance more, the authority of former statutes, in reprobating a doctrine which seems to imply, that man can have a property in his fellow-creatures. By far the best argument in favour of the restrictions, is the practical one, that they could be obtained, and that the exclusion could not; but the value of this argument is chiefly proved by the event. The Exclusionists had a fair prospect of success, and their plan being clearly the best, they were justified in pursuing it.

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The spirit of resistance which the King showed in the instance of the Militia and the Exclusion Bills, seems to have been systematically confined to those cases where he supposed his power to be more immediately concerned. In the prosecution of the aged and innocent Lord Stafford, he was so far from interfering in behalf of that nobleman, that many of

Prosecution
of Stafford.

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those most in his confidence, and, as it is affirmed, the Duchess of Portsmouth herself, openly favoured the prosecution. Even after the dissolution of his last Parliament, when he had so far subdued his enemies as to be no longer under any apprehensions from them, he did not think it worth while to save the life of Plunket, the Popish Archbishop of Armagh, of whose innocence no doubt could be entertained. But this is not to be wondered at, since, in all transactions relative to the Popish Plot, minds of a very different cast from Charles's became, as by some fatality, divested of all their wonted sentiments of justice and humanity. Who can read without horror, the account of that savage murmur of applause, which broke out upon one of the villains at the bar, swearing positively to Stafford's having proposed the murder of the King? And how is this horror deepened, when we reflect, that in that odious cry were probably mingled the voices of men to whose memory every lover of the English constitution is bound to pay the tribute of gratitude and respect! Even after condemnation, Lord Russel himself, whose character is wholly (this instance excepted) free from the stain of rancour or cruelty, stickled for the severer mode of executing the sentence, in a manner which his fear of the King's establishing

a precedent of pardoning in cases of impeachment, (for this, no doubt, was his motive,) cannot satisfactorily excuse.

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In an early period of the King's difficulties, Sir William Temple, whose life and character is a refutation of the vulgar notion that philosophy and practical good sense in business are incompatible attainments, recommended to him the plan of governing by a council, which was to consist in great part of the most popular noblemen and gentlemen in the kingdom. Such persons being the natural, as well as the safest, mediators between princes and discontented subjects, this seems to have been the best possible expedient. Hume says it was found too feeble a remedy ; but he does not take notice that it was never in fact tried, inasmuch as, not only the King's confidence was withheld from the most considerable members of the council, but even the most important determinations were taken without consulting the council itself. Nor can there be a doubt but the King's views, in adopting Temple's advice, were totally different from those of the adviser, whose only error in this transaction seems to have consisted in recommending a plan, wherein confidence and fair dealing were of necessity to be principal ingredients, to a prince whom

Temple's advice.

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he well knew to be incapable of either. Accordingly, having appointed the council in April, with a promise of being governed in important matters by their advice, he in July dissolved one Parliament without their concurrence, and in October, forbade them even to give their opinions upon the propriety of a resolution which he had taken of proroguing another. From that time he probably considered the council to be, as it was, virtually dissolved; and it was not long before means presented themselves to him, better adapted, in his estimation, even to his immediate objects, and certainly more suitable to his general designs. The union between the court and the church party, which had been so closely cemented by their successful resistance to the Exclusion Bill, and its authors, had at length acquired such a degree of strength and consistency, that the King ventured first to appoint Oxford, instead of London, for the meeting of Parliament; and then, having secured to himself a good pension from France, to dissolve the Parliament there met, with a full resolution never to call another; to which resolution, indeed, Lewis had bound him, as one of the conditions on which he was to receive his stipend.* No measure was ever

Dissolution
of Charles
the Second's
last Parlia-
ment.

* Dalrymple's Memoirs.

attended with more complete success. The most flattering addresses poured in from all parts of the kingdom ; divine right, and indiscriminate obedience, were every where the favourite doctrines ; and men seemed to vie with each other who should have the honour of the greatest share in the glorious work of slavery, by securing to the King, for the present, and, after him, to the Duke, absolute and uncontrollable power. They, who, either because Charles had been called a forgiving prince by his flatterers, (upon what ground I could never discover,) or from some supposed connection between indolence and good nature, had deceived themselves into a hope, that his tyranny would be of the milder sort, found themselves much disappointed in their expectations.

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The whole history of the remaining part of his reign exhibits an uninterrupted series of attacks upon the liberty, property, and lives of his subjects. The character of the government appeared first, and with the most marked and prominent features, in Scotland. The condemnation of Argyle and Weir, the one for having subjoined an explanation when he took the test oath, the other for having kept company with a rebel, whom it was not proved he knew to be such, and who had never been proclaimed, resemble more the acts of Tiberius and

His power
and tyranny.

In Scotland.

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 Domitian, than those of even the most arbitrary modern governments. It is true, the sentences were not executed ; Weir was reprieved ; and whether or not Argyle, if he had not deemed it more prudent to escape by flight, would have experienced the same clemency, cannot now be ascertained. The terrour of these examples would have been, in the judgment of most men, abundantly sufficient to teach the people of Scotland their duty, and to satisfy them that their lives, as well as every thing else they had been used to call their own, were now completely in the power of their masters. But the government did not stop here, and having outlawed thousands, upon the same pretence upon which Weir had been condemned, inflicted capital punishment upon such criminals of both sexes as refused to answer, or answered otherwise than was prescribed to them, to the most ensnaring questions.

In England.

In England, the City of London seemed to hold out for a certain time, like a strong fortress in a conquered country ; and, by means of this citadel, Shaftesbury and others were saved from the vengeance of the court. But this resistance, however honourable to the corporation who made it, could not be of long duration. The weapons of law and justice were found feeble, when opposed to the

power of a monarch, who was at the head of a CHAPTER
 numerous and bigoted party of the nation, and who, I.
 which was most material of all, had enabled him-
 self to govern without a Parliament. Civil resist-
 ance in this country, even to the most illegal attacks
 of royal tyranny, has never, I believe, been suc-
 cessful, unless when supported by Parliament, or at
 least by a great party in one or other of the two
 Houses. The Court, having wrested from the Livery
 of London, partly by corruption, and partly by
 violence, the free election of their mayor and
 sheriffs, did not wait the accomplishment of their
 plan for the destruction of the whole corporation,
 which, from their first success, they justly deemed
 certain ; but immediately proceeded to put in ex-
 ecution their system of oppression. Pilkington, Exorbitant
 Colt, and Oates were fined a hundred thousand fines.
 pounds each for having spoken disrespectfully of
 the Duke of York ; Barnardiston ten thousand, for
 having in a private letter expressed sentiments
 deemed improper ; and Sidney, Russel, and Arm-
 strong, found that the just and mild principles
 which characterise the criminal law of England
 could no longer protect their lives, when the sacri-
 fice was called for by the policy or vengeance of the
 King. To give an account of all the oppression of

CHAPTER I. — this period, would be to enumerate every arrest, every trial, every sentence, that took place in questions between the crown and the subjects.

Rye-house
plot.
1683.

Of the Rye-house plot it may be said, much more truly than of the Popish, that there was in it some truth, mixed with much falsehood; and though many of the circumstances in Kealing's account are nearly as absurd and ridiculous as those in Oates's, it seems probable that there was among some of those accused, a notion of assassinating the King; but whether this notion was ever ripened into what may be called a design, and, much more, whether it were ever evinced by such an overt act, as the law requires for conviction, is very doubtful. In regard to the conspirators of higher ranks, from whom all suspicion of participation in the intended assassination has been long since done away, there is unquestionably reason to believe that they had often met and consulted, as well for the purpose of ascertaining the means they actually possessed as for that of devising others, for delivering their country from the dreadful servitude into which it had fallen; and thus far their conduct appears clearly to have been laudable. If they went further, and did any thing which could be fairly construed into an actual conspiracy, to levy war

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against the King, they acted, considering the disposition of the nation at that period, very indiscreetly. But whether their proceedings had ever gone this length, is far from certain. Monmouth's communications with the King, when we reflect upon all the circumstances of those communications, deserve not the smallest attention ; nor indeed, if they did, does the letter which he afterwards withdrew, prove any thing upon this point. And it is an outrage to common sense to call Lord Grey's narrative, written, as he himself states in his letter to James the Second, while the question of his pardon was pending, an authentick account. That which is most certain in this affair is, that they had committed no overt act, indicating the imagining of the King's death, even according to the most strained construction of the statute of Edward the Third ; much less was any such act legally proved against them. And the conspiring to levy war was not treason, except by a recent statute of Charles the Second, the prosecutions upon which were expressly limited to a certain time, which in these cases had elapsed ; so that it is impossible not to assent to the opinion of those who have ever stigmatized the condemnation and execution of Russel as a most flagrant violation of law and justice.

Execution of
Russel.

CHAPTER
I.Trial and
Execution of
Sidney.

The proceedings in Sidney's case were still more detestable. The production of papers, containing speculative opinions upon government and liberty, written long before, and perhaps never even intended to be published, together with the use made of those papers, in considering them as a substitute for the second witness to the overt act, exhibited such a compound of wickedness and nonsense as is hardly to be paralleled in the history of juridical tyranny. But the validity of pretences was little attended to, at that time, in the case of a person whom the court had devoted to destruction, and upon evidence such as has been stated, was this great and excellent man condemned to die. Pardon was not to be expected. Mr. Hume says, that such an interference on the part of the King, though it might have been an act of heroick generosity, could not be regarded as an indispensable duty. He might have said, with more propriety, that it was idle to expect that the government, after having incurred so much guilt in order to obtain the sentence, should, by remitting it, relinquish the object, just when it was within its grasp. The same historian considers the jury as highly blameable, and so do I; but what was their guilt, in comparison of that of the court who tried, and of the government who prosecuted, in this

infamous cause? Yet the jury, being the only party that can with any colour be stated as acting independently of the government, is the only one mentioned by him as blameable. The prosecutor is wholly omitted in his censure, and so is the court; this last, not from any tenderness for the judge, (who, to do this author justice, is no favourite with him,) but lest the odious connection between that branch of the judicature and the government should strike the reader too forcibly; for Jefferies, in this instance, ought to be regarded as the mere tool and instrument, (a fit one, no doubt,) of the prince who had appointed him for the purpose of this and similar services. Lastly, the King is gravely introduced on the question of pardon, as if he had had no prior concern in the cause, and were now to decide upon the propriety of extending mercy to a criminal condemned by a court of judicature; nor are we once reminded what that judicature was, by whom appointed, by whom influenced, by whom called upon, to receive that detestable evidence, the very recollection of which, even at this distance of time, fires every honest heart with indignation. As well might we palliate the murders of Tiberius, who seldom put to death his victims without a previous decree of his senate. The moral of all this seems to be, that

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whenever a prince can, by intimidation, corruption, illegal evidence, or other such means, obtain a verdict against a subject whom he dislikes, he may cause him to be executed without any breach of indispensable duty ; nay, that it is an act of heroick generosity, if he spares him. I never reflect on Mr. Hume's statement of this matter but with the deepest regret. Widely as I differ from him upon many other occasions, this appears to me to be the most reprehensible passage of his whole work. A spirit of adulation towards deceased princes, though in a good measure free from the imputation of interested meanness, which is justly attached to flattery, when applied to living monarchs ; yet, as it is less intelligible, with respect to its motives, than the other, so is it in its consequences, still more pernicious to the general interests of mankind. Fear of censure from contemporaries will seldom have much effect upon men in situations of unlimited authority : they will too often flatter themselves, that the same power which enables them to commit the crime, will secure them from reproach. The dread of posthumous infamy, therefore, being the only restraint, their consciences excepted, upon the passions of such persons, it is lamentable that this last defence, (feeble enough at best,) should in any degree be

impaired; and impaired it must be, if not totally destroyed, when tyrants can hope to find in a man like Hume, no less eminent for the integrity and benevolence of his heart, than for the depth and soundness of his understanding, an apologist for even their foulest murders.

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Thus fell Russel and Sidney, two names that will, it is hoped, be for ever dear to every English heart. When their memory shall cease to be an object of respect and veneration, it requires no spirit of prophecy to foretell that English liberty will be fast approaching to its final consummation. Their deportment was such as might be expected from men who knew themselves to be suffering, not for their crimes, but for their virtues. In courage they were equal, but the fortitude of Russel, who was connected with the world by private and domestic ties, which Sidney had not, was put to the severer trial; and the story of the last days of this excellent man's life, fills the mind with such a mixture of tenderness and admiration, that I know not any scene in history that more powerfully excites our sympathy, or goes more directly to the heart.

The very day on which Russel was executed, the University of Oxford passed their famous Decree, condemning formally, as impious and heretical

Oxford Decree.

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propositions, every principle upon which the constitution of this or any other free country can maintain itself. Nor was this learned body satisfied with stigmatizing such principles as contrary to the Holy Scriptures, to the decrees of Councils, to the writings of the Fathers, to the faith and profession of the primitive church, as destructive of the kingly government, the safety of his Majesty's person, the publick peace, the laws of nature, and bounds of human society; but after enumerating the several obnoxious propositions, among which was one declaring all civil authority derived from the people; another, asserting a mutual contract, tacit or express, between the King and his subjects; a third, maintaining the lawfulness of changing the succession to the crown; with many others of a like nature, they solemnly decreed all and every of those propositions to be not only false and seditious, but impious, and that the books which contained them were fitted to lead to rebellion, murder of princes, and atheism itself. Such are the absurdities which men are not ashamed to utter in order to cast odious imputations upon their adversaries; and such the manner in which churchmen will abuse, when it suits their policy, the holy name of that religion whose first precept is to love one another, for the purpose of

teaching us to hate our neighbours with more than ordinary rancour. If *Much ado about Nothing* had been published in those days, the town-clerk's declaration, that receiving a thousand ducats for accusing the Lady Hero wrongfully, was flat burglary, might be supposed to be a satire upon this decree; yet Shakespeare, well as he knew human nature, not only as to its general course, but in all its eccentric deviations, could never dream, that, in the persons of Dogberry, Verges, and their followers, he was representing the vice-chancellors and doctors of our learned University.

Among the oppressions of this period, most of which were attended with consequences so much more important to the several objects of persecution, it may seem scarcely worth while to notice the expulsion of John Locke from Christ Church College, Oxford. But besides the interest which every incident in the life of a person so deservedly eminent, naturally excites, there appears to have been something in the transaction itself characteristick of the spirit of the times, as well as of the general nature of absolute power. Mr. Locke was known to have been intimately connected with Lord Shaftesbury, and had very prudently judged it advisable for him, to prolong for some time his residence upon the

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Mr. Locke's
expulsion
from Oxford.

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Continent, to which he had resorted originally on account of his health. A suspicion, as it has been since proved, unfounded, that he was the author of a pamphlet which gave offence to the government, induced the King to insist upon his removal from his studentship at Christ Church. Sunderland writes, by the King's command, to Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, and Dean of Christ Church. The reverend prelate answers, that he has long had an eye upon Mr. Locke's behaviour; but though frequent attempts had been made, (attempts of which the Bishop expresses no disapprobation,) to draw him into imprudent conversation, by attacking, in his company, the reputation, and insulting the memory, of his late patron and friend, and thus to make his gratitude, and all the best feelings of his heart, instrumental to his ruin, these attempts all proved unsuccessful. Hence the Bishop infers, not the innocence of Mr. Locke, but that he was a great master of concealment, both as to words and looks; for looks, it is to be supposed, would have furnished a pretext for his expulsion, more decent than any which had yet been discovered. An expedient is then suggested, to drive Mr. Locke to a dilemma, by summoning him to attend the College on the first of January ensuing. If he do not appear, he shall be expelled for contumacy;

if he come, matter of charge may be found against him, for what he shall have said at London, or elsewhere, where he will have been less upon his guard than at Oxford. Some have ascribed Fell's hesitation, if it can be so called, in executing the King's order, to his unwillingness to injure Locke, who was his friend; others, with more reason, to the doubt of the legality of the order. However this may have been, neither his scruple nor his reluctance was regarded by a court who knew its own power. A peremptory order was accordingly sent, and immediate obedience ensued.* Thus, while, without the shadow of a crime, Mr. Locke lost a situation attended with some emolument, and great convenience, was the University deprived of, or rather thus, from the base principles of servility, did she cast away, the man the having produced whom is now her chiefest glory; and thus, to those who are not determined to be blind, did the true nature of absolute power discover itself, against which the middling station is not more secure than the most exalted. Tyranny, when glutted with the blood of the great, and the plunder of the rich, will condescend to hunt humbler game, and make a peateable

* Vide Sunderland's correspondence with the Bishop of Oxford. in the Appendix.

CHAPTER I. and innocent fellow of a college the object of its persecution. In this instance one would almost imagine there was some instinctive sagacity in the government of that time, which pointed out to them, even before he had made himself known to the world, the man who was destined to be the most successful adversary of superstition and tyranny.

Forfeiture of
Charters.

The King, during the remainder of his reign, seems, with the exception of Armstrong's execution, which must be added to the catalogue of his murders, to have directed his attacks more against the civil rights, properties, and liberties, than against the lives of his subjects. Convictions against evidence, sentences against law, enormous fines, cruel imprisonments, were the principal engines* employed for the purpose of breaking the spirit of individuals, and fitting their necks for the yoke. But it was not thought fit to trust wholly to the effect which such examples would produce upon the publick. That the subjugation of the people might be complete, and despotism be established upon the most solid foundation, measures of a more general nature and effect were adopted; and first, the

* The expedient of transporting men among common felons for political offences was not then invented, which is the more extraordinary, as it had begun in this reign to be in some degree made use of in religious persecutions.

charter of London, and then those of almost all the other corporations in England, were either forfeited, or forced to a surrender. By this act of violence two important points were thought to be gained; one, that in every regular assemblage of the people, in any part of the kingdom, the crown would have a commanding influence; the other, that in case the King should find himself compelled to break his engagement to France, and to call a parliament, a great majority of members would be returned by electors of his nomination, and subject to his controul. In the affair of the charter of London, it was seen, as in the case of ship-money, how idle it is to look to the integrity of judges for a barrier against royal encroachments, when the courts of justice are not under the constant and vigilant controul of Parliament. And it is not to be wondered at that, after such a warning, and with no hope of seeing a Parliament assemble, even they who still retained their attachment to the true constitution of their country, should rather give way to the torrent, than make a fruitless and dangerous resistance.

Charles being thus completely master, was determined that the relative situation of him and his subjects should be clearly understood, for which purpose he ordered a declaration to be framed, wherein,

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Despotism
established.

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after having stated that he considered the degree of confidence they had reposed in him as an honour particular to his reign, which not one of his predecessors had ever dared even to hope for, he assured them he would use it with all possible moderation, and convince even the most violent republicans, that as the crown was the origin of the rights and liberties of the people, so was it their most certain and secure support. This gracious declaration was ready for the press at the time of the King's death, and if he had lived to issue it, there can be little doubt how it would have been received, at a time when

nunquam Libertas gratior extat
Quam sub Rege pio,

was the theme of every song, and, by the help of some perversion of Scripture, the text of every sermon. But whatever might be the language of flatterers, and how loud soever the cry of a triumphant, but deluded party, there were not wanting men of nobler sentiments, and of more rational views. Minds once thoroughly imbued with the love of what Sidney, in his last moments, so emphatically called the good old cause, will not easily relinquish their principles; nor was the manner in which absolute power was exercised, such as to reconcile to it, in practice, those who had always been averse to it in speculation.

Despondency
of good men.

The hatred of tyranny must, in such persons, have been exasperated by the experience of its effects, and their attachment to liberty proportionably confirmed. To them the state of their country must have been intolerable : to reflect upon the efforts of their fathers, once their pride and glory, and whom they themselves had followed with no unequal steps, and to see the result of all in the scenes that now presented themselves, must have filled their minds with sensations of the deepest regret, and feelings bordering at least on despondency. To us, who have the opportunity of combining, in our view of this period, not only the preceding but subsequent transactions, the consideration of it may suggest reflections far different, and speculations more consolatory. Indeed I know not that history can furnish a more forcible lesson against despondency, than by recording, that within a short time from those dismal days in which men of the greatest constancy despaired, and had reason to do so, within five years from the death of Sidney, arose the brightest æra of freedom known to the annals of our country.

It is said that the King, when at the summit of his power, was far from happy ; and a notion has been generally entertained, that not long before his death he had resolved upon the recall of Monmouth,

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Intended
change of
measures.

CHAPTER I. and a correspondent change of system. That some
—— such change was apprehended seems extremely probable, from the earnest desire which the court of France, as well as the Duke of York's party in England, entertained, in the last years of Charles's life, to remove the Marquis of Halifax, who was supposed to have friendly dispositions to Monmouth. Among the various objections to that nobleman's political principles, we find the charge most relied upon, for the purpose of injuring him in the mind of the King, was founded on the opinion he had delivered in council, in favour of modelling the charters of the British Colonies in North America upon the principles of the rights and privileges of Englishmen. There was no room to doubt, (he was accused of saying,) that the same laws under which we live in England, should be established in a country composed of Englishmen. He even dilated upon this, and omitted none of the reasons by which it can be proved, that an absolute government is neither so happy nor so safe as that which is tempered by laws, and which limits the authority of the prince. He exaggerated, it was said, the mischiefs of a sovereign power, and declared plainly, that he could not make up his mind to live under a king who should have it in his power to take, when he

pleased, the money he might have in his pocket. CHAPTER
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All the other ministers had combated, as might be expected, sentiments so extraordinary; and without entering into the general question of the comparative value of different forms of government, maintained that his Majesty could, and ought to govern countries so distant, in the manner that should appear to him most suitable for preserving or augmenting the strength and riches of the mother country. It had been therefore resolved, that the government and council of the Provinces under the new charter, should not be obliged to call assemblies of the colonists for the purpose of imposing taxes, or making other important regulations, but should do what they thought fit, without rendering any account of their actions, except to his Britannick Majesty. The affair having been so decided with a concurrence only short of unanimity, was no longer considered as a matter of importance, nor would it be worth recording, if the Duke of York and the French court had not fastened upon it,* as affording the best evidence of the danger to be apprehended from having a man of Halifax's principles in any situation of trust or power. There is something curious in discovering, that, even at this early period, a question relative to

* Vide Barillon's Dispatches, 7th Dec. 1684. Appendix, p. vii.

CHAPTER I. North American liberty, and even to North American taxation, was considered as the test of principles friendly, or adverse, to arbitrary power at home. But the truth is, that among the several controversies which have arisen, there is no other wherein the natural rights of man on the one hand, and the authority of artificial institution on the other, as applied respectively, by the Whigs and Tories, to the English constitution, are so fairly put in issue, nor by which the line of separation between the two parties is so strongly and distinctly marked.

Charles's
death.
1685.
Feb. 6.

There is some reason for believing that the court of Versailles had either wholly discontinued, or at least had become very remiss in, the payments of Charles's pension; and it is not unlikely that this consideration may have induced him either really to think of calling a parliament, or at least to threaten Lewis with such a measure, in order to make that prince more punctual in performing his part of their secret treaty. But whether or not any secret change was really intended, or if it were, to what extent, and to what objects directed, are points which cannot now be ascertained, no publick steps having ever been taken in this affair, and his Majesty's intentions, if in truth he had any such, becoming abortive by the sudden illness which seized him on the first of

February 1685, and which, in a few days afterwards, put an end to his reign and life. His death was by many supposed to have been the effect of poison ; but although there is reason to believe that this suspicion was harboured by persons very near to him, and among others, as I have heard, by the Dutchess of Portsmouth, it appears, upon the whole, to rest upon very slender foundations.*

With respect to the character of this Prince, upon the delineation of which so much pains have been employed, by the various writers who treat of the history of his time, it must be confessed that the facts which have been noticed in the foregoing pages, furnish but too many illustrations of the more unfavourable parts of it. From these we may collect, that his ambition was directed solely against his subjects, while he was completely indifferent concerning the figure which he or they might make in the general affairs of Europe ; and that his desire of power was more unmixed with love of glory than

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I.
His Character.

* Mr. Fox had this report from the family of his mother, great-granddaughter to the Dutchess of Portsmouth.—The Dutchess of Portsmouth lived to a very advanced age, and retained her faculties to the period of her death, which happened in 1734, at Aubigny.—Mr. Fox's mother, when very young, saw her at that place ; and many of the Lenox family, with whom Mr. Fox was subsequently acquainted, had, no doubt, frequently conversed with her.

CHAPTER I. — that of any other man whom history has recorded; that he was unprincipled, ungrateful, mean, and treacherous, to which may be added, vindictive, and remorseless. For Burnet, in refusing to him the praise of clemency and forgiveness seems to be perfectly justifiable, nor is it conceivable upon what pretence his partizans have taken this ground of panegyrick. I doubt whether a single instance can be produced, of his having spared the life of any one whom motives, either of policy, or of revenge, prompted him to destroy. To alledge that of Monmouth, as it would be an affront to human nature, so would it likewise imply the most severe of all satires against the monarch himself, and we may add too an undeserved one. For in order to consider it as an act of meritorious forbearance on his part, that he did not follow the example of Constantine, and Philip the Second, by imbruing his hands in the blood of his son, we must first suppose him to have been wholly void of every natural affection, which does not appear to have been the case. His declaration, that he would have pardoned Essex, being made when that nobleman was dead, and not followed by any act evincing its sincerity, can surely obtain no credit from men of sense. If he had really had the intention, he ought not to have made such a declaration,

unless he accompanied it with some mark of kindness to the relations, or with some act of mercy to the friends, of the deceased. Considering it as a mere piece of hypocrisy, we cannot help looking upon it as one of the most odious passages of his life. This ill-timed boast of his intended mercy, and the brutal taunt with which he accompanied his mitigation, (if so it may be called,) of Russel's sentence, shew his insensibility and hardness to have been such, that in questions where right feelings were concerned, his good sense, and even the good taste for which he has been so much extolled, seemed wholly to desert him.

On the other hand, it would be want of candour to maintain, that Charles was entirely destitute of good qualities; nor was the propriety of Burnet's comparison between him and Tiberius ever felt, I imagine, by any one but its author. He was gay and affable, and, if incapable of the sentiments belonging to pride of a laudable sort, he was at least free from haughtiness and insolence. The praise of politeness, which the Stoicks are not perhaps wrong in classing among the moral virtues, provided they admit it to be one of the lowest order, has never been denied him, and he had in an eminent degree that facility of temper which, though considered by some moralists as nearly allied to vice, yet, inasmuch as it

CHAPTER I. contributes greatly to the happiness of those around
—— us, is, in itself, not only an engaging, but an estimable quality. His support of the Queen during the heats raised by the Popish plot, ought to be taken rather as a proof that he was not a monster, than to be ascribed to him as a merit; but his steadiness to his brother, though it may and ought, in a great measure, to be accounted for upon selfish principles, had at least a strong resemblance to virtue.

The best part of this Prince's character seems to have been his kindness towards his mistresses, and his affection for his children, and others nearly connected to him by the ties of blood. His recommendation of the Dutchess of Portsmouth and Mrs. Gwyn, upon his death-bed, to his successor, is much to his honour; and they who censure it, seem, in their zeal to show themselves strict moralists, to have suffered their notions of vice and virtue to have fallen into strange confusion. Charles's connection with those ladies might be vicious, but at a moment when that connection was upon the point of being finally, and irrevocably dissolved, to concern himself about their future welfare, and to recommend them to his brother with earnest tenderness, was virtue. It is not for the interest of morality that the good and evil actions, even of bad men, should be confounded.

His affection for the Duke of Gloucester, and for the Dutchess of Orleans, seems to have been sincere and cordial. To attribute, as some have done, his grief for the loss of the first to political considerations, founded upon an intended balance of power between his two brothers, would be an absurd refinement, whatever were his general disposition; but when we reflect upon that carelessness which, especially in his youth, was a conspicuous feature of his character, the absurdity becomes still more striking. And though Burnet more covertly, and Ludlow more openly, insinuate that his fondness for his sister was of a criminal nature, I never could find that there was any ground whatever for such a suspicion; nor does the little that remains of their epistolary correspondence give it the smallest countenance. Upon the whole, Charles the Second was a bad man, and a bad king: let us not palliate his crimes; but neither let us adopt false or doubtful imputations, for the purpose of making him a Monster.

Whoever reviews the interesting period which we have been discussing, upon the principle recommended in the outset of this chapter, will find, that, from the consideration of the past, to prognosticate the future, would, at the moment of Charles's demise, be no easy task. Between two persons, one of

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Reflexions
upon the prob-
able conse-
quences of his
reign and
death.

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whom should expect that the country would remain sunk in slavery, the other, that the cause of freedom would revive and triumph, it would be difficult to decide, whose reasons were better supported, whose speculations the more probable. I should guess that he who desponded, had looked more at the state of the publick, while he who was sanguine, had fixed his eyes more attentively upon the person who was about to mount the throne. Upon reviewing the two great parties of the nation, one observation occurs very forcibly, and that is, that the great strength of the Whigs consisted in their being able to brand their adversaries as favourers of Popery; that of the Tories, (as far as their strength depended upon opinion, and not merely upon the power of the crown,) in their finding colour to represent the Whigs as republicans. From this observation we may draw a further inference, that, in proportion to the rashness of the Crown, in avowing and pressing forward the cause of Popery, and to the moderation and steadiness of the Whigs, in adhering to the form of monarchy, would be the chance of the people of England, for changing an ignominious despotism, for glory, liberty, and happiness.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE EARLY PART OF THE REIGN OF
JAMES THE SECOND.

C O N T E N T S.

“ Accession of James II.—His Declaration in Council: Acceptable
“ to the Nation.—Arbitrary Designs of his Reign.—Former Minis-
“ ters continued.—Money Transactions with France.—Revenue
“ levied without Authority of Parliament.—Persecution of Dissen-
“ ters.—Character of Jefferies.—The King’s Affectation of Inde-
“ pendency.—Advances to the Prince of Orange.—The primary
“ Object of this Reign.—Transactions in Scotland.—Severe Perse-
“ cutions there.—Scottish Parliament.—Cruelties of Government.—
“ English Parliament: Its Proceedings.—Revenue.—Votes con-
“ cerning Religion.—Bill for Preservation of the King’s Person.—
“ Solicitude for the Church of England.—Reversal of Stafford’s
“ Attainder rejected.—Parliament adjourned.—Character of the
“ Tories.—Situation of the Whigs.” E.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

CHARLES the Second expired on the sixth of February 1684-5, and on the same day his successor was proclaimed King in London, with the usual formalities, by the title of James the Second. The great influence which this Prince was supposed to have possessed in the government, during the latter years of his brother's reign, and the expectation which was entertained, in consequence, that his measures, when monarch, would be of the same character and complexion with those which he was known to have highly approved, and of which he was thought by many to have been the principal author, when a subject, left little room for that spirit of speculation, which generally attends a demise of the Crown. And thus an event, which, when apprehended a few years before, had, according to a strong expression of Sir William Temple, been

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Accession of
James II.
Feb. 6th.

CHAPTER II. looked upon as the end of the world, was now deemed to be of small comparative importance.

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First steps of
his reign.

Its tendency, indeed, was rather to ensure perseverance than to effect any change in the system which had been of late years pursued. As there are, however, some steps indispensably necessary on the accession of a new prince to the throne, to these the publick attention was directed, and, though the character of James had been long so generally understood, as to leave little doubt respecting the political maxims and principles by which his reign would be governed, there was probably much curiosity, as upon such occasions there always is, with regard to the conduct he would pursue in matters of less importance, and to the general language and behaviour which he would adopt in his new situation. His first step was, of course, to assemble the privy council, to whom he spoke as follows:

His declaration
in council.

“ Before I enter upon any other business, I think
“ fit to say something to you. Since it hath pleased
“ Almighty God to place me in this station, and I
“ am now to succeed so good and gracious a king,
“ as well as so very kind a brother, I think it fit to
“ declare to you, that I will endeavour to follow
“ his example, and most especially in that of his

“ great clemency and tenderness to his people. I
 “ have been reported to be a man for arbitrary power ;
 “ but that is not the only story that has been made
 “ of me: and I shall make it my endeavour to pre-
 “ serve this government, both in Church and State,
 “ as it is now by law established. I know the
 “ principles of the Church of England are for Mo-
 “ narchy, and the members of it have shewn them-
 “ selves good and loyal subjects ; therefore I shall
 “ always take care to defend and support it. I know
 “ too, that the laws of England are sufficient to
 “ make the King as great a monarch as I can wish ;
 “ and as I shall never depart from the just rights
 “ and prerogatives of the crown, so I shall never
 “ invade any man’s property. I have often here-
 “ tofore ventured my life in defence of this nation ;
 “ and I shall go as far as any man in preserving it
 “ in all its just rights and liberties.”*

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With this declaration the council were so highly
 satisfied, that they supplicated his Majesty to make
 it publick, which was accordingly done ; and it is
 reported to have been received with unbounded
 applause by the greater part of the nation. Some,
 perhaps, there were, who did not think the boast

Acceptable
 to the nation.

* Kennet. III. 420.

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of having ventured his life, very manly, and who, considering the transactions of the last years of Charles's reign, were not much encouraged by the promise of imitating that monarch in clemency and tenderness to his subjects. To these it might appear, that whatever there was of consolatory in the King's disclaimer of arbitrary power, and professed attachment to the laws, was totally done away, as well by the consideration of what his Majesty's notions of power and law were, as by his declaration, that he would follow the example of a predecessor, whose government had not only been marked with the violation, in particular cases, of all the most sacred laws of the realm, but had latterly, by the disuse of parliaments, in defiance of the statute of the sixteenth year of his reign, stood upon a foundation radically and fundamentally illegal. To others it might occur, that even the promise to the Church of England, though express with respect to the condition of it, which was no other than perfect acquiescence in what the King deemed to be the true principles of monarchy, was rather vague with regard to the nature, or degree of support to which the royal speaker might conceive himself engaged. The words, although, in any interpretation of them, they conveyed more than he possibly ever intended

to perform, did by no means express the sense which at that time, by his friends, and afterwards by his enemies, was endeavoured to be fixed on them. There was indeed a promise to support the establishment of the Church, and consequently the laws upon which that establishment immediately rested; but by no means an engagement to maintain all the collateral provisions which some of its more zealous members might judge necessary for its security.

But whatever doubts or difficulties might be felt, few or none were expressed. The Whigs, as a vanquished party, were either silent, or not listened to, and the Tories were in a temper of mind which does not easily admit suspicion. They were not more delighted with the victory they had obtained over their adversaries, than with the additional stability which, as they vainly imagined, the accession of the new monarch was likely to give to their system. The truth is, that, his religion excepted, (and that objection they were sanguine enough to consider as done away by a few gracious words in favour of the Church,) James was every way better suited to their purpose than his brother. They had entertained continual apprehensions, not perhaps wholly unfounded, of the late King's returning kindness to Monmouth, the consequences of which could not

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Triumph of
the Tories.

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easily be calculated; whereas, every occurrence that had happened, as well as every circumstance in James's situation, seemed to make him utterly irreconcilable with the Whigs. Besides, after the reproach, as well as alarm, which the notoriety of Charles's treacherous character must so often have caused them, the very circumstance of having at their head a Prince, of whom they could with any colour hold out to their adherents, that his word was to be depended upon, was in itself a matter of triumph and exultation. Accordingly the watchword of the party was every where, *We have the word of a King, and a word never yet broken*; and to such a length was the spirit of adulation, or perhaps the delusion, carried, that this royal declaration was said to be a better security for the liberty and religion of the nation, than any which the law could devise.*

The King's
arbitrary de-
signs.

The King, though much pleased, no doubt, with the popularity which seemed to attend the commencement of his reign, as a powerful medium for establishing the system of absolute power, did not suffer himself, by any shew of affection from his people, to be diverted from his design of rendering his government independent of them. To this

* Burnet.

design we must look as the main-spring of all his actions at this period; for with regard to the Roman Catholick religion, it is by no means certain that he yet thought of obtaining for it any thing more than a complete toleration. With this view, therefore, he could not take a more judicious resolution than that which he had declared in his speech to the privy council, and to which he seems, at this time, to have stedfastly adhered, of making the government of his predecessor the model for his own. He therefore continued in their offices, notwithstanding the personal objections he might have to some of them, those servants of the late King, during whose administration that Prince had been so successful in subduing his subjects, and eradicating almost from the minds of Englishmen every sentiment of liberty.

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Ministers re-
appointed.

Even the Marquis of Halifax, who was supposed to have remonstrated against many of the late measures, and to have been busy in recommending a change of system to Charles, was continued in high employment by James, who told him, that, of all his past conduct, he should remember only his behaviour upon the Exclusion Bill, to which that nobleman had made a zealous and distinguished opposition; a handsome expression, which has been the

Halifax.

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more noticed, as well because it is almost the single instance of this Prince's shewing any disposition to forget injuries, as on account of a delicacy and propriety in the wording of it by no means familiar to him.

Rochester.

Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, whom he appointed Lord Treasurer, was in all respects calculated to be a fit instrument for the purposes then in view. Besides being upon the worst terms with Halifax, in whom alone, of all his ministers, James was likely to find any bias in favour of popular principles, he was, both from prejudice of education, and from interest, inasmuch as he had aspired to be the head of the Tories, a great favourer of those servile principles of the Church of England, which had lately been so highly extolled from the throne. His near relation to the Dutchess of York might also be some recommendation, but his privity to the late pecuniary transactions between the courts of Versailles and London, and the cordiality with which he concurred in them, were by far more powerful titles to his new master's confidence. For it must be observed of this minister, as well as of many others of his party, that his *high* notions, as they are frequently styled, of power, regarded only the relation between the King and his subjects, and

not that in which he might stand with respect to foreign Princes; so that, provided he could, by a dependence, however servile, upon Lewis the Fourteenth, be placed above the controul of his Parliament and people at home, he considered the honour of the crown unsullied.

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Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, who was continued as Secretary of State, had been at one period a supporter of the Exclusion Bill, and had been suspected of having offered the Dutchess of Portsmouth to obtain the succession to the crown for her son, the Duke of Richmond. Nay more, King James, in his memoirs, charges him with having intended, just at the time of Charles's death, to send him into a second banishment;* but with regard to this last point, it appears evident to me, that many things in those memoirs relative to this Earl, were written after James's abdication, and in the greatest bitterness of spirit, when he was probably in a frame of mind to believe any thing against a person by whom he conceived himself to have been basely deserted. The reappointment, therefore, of this nobleman to so important an office, is to be accounted for partly upon the general principle above mentioned, of making the new reign a

Sunderland.

* Macpherson's State Papers, I. 147.

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mere continuation of the former, and partly upon Sunderland's extraordinary talents for ingratiating himself with persons in power, and persuading them that he was the fittest instrument for their purposes; a talent in which he seems to have surpassed all the intriguing statesmen of his time, or perhaps of any other.

Money trans-
action with
France.

An intimate connection with the court of Versailles being the principal engine by which the favourite project of absolute monarchy was to be effected, James, for the purpose of fixing and cementing that connection, sent for M. De Barillon, the French ambassadour, the very day after his accession, and entered into the most confidential discourse with him. He explained to him his motives for intending to call a parliament, as well as his resolution to levy by authority, the revenue which his predecessor had enjoyed in virtue of a grant of parliament which determined with his life. He made general professions of attachment to Lewis, declared that in all affairs of importance it was his intention to consult that monarch, and apologised, upon the ground of the urgency of the case, for acting in the instance mentioned without his advice. Money was not directly mentioned, owing, perhaps, to some sense of shame upon that subject, which his brother

had never experienced; but lest there should be a doubt whether that object were implied in the desire of support and protection, Rochester was directed to explain the matter more fully, and to give a more distinct interpretation of these general terms. Accordingly, that minister waited the next morning upon Barillon, and after having repeated, and enlarged upon the reasons for calling a parliament, stated, as an additional argument in defence of the measure, that without it, his master would become too chargeable to the French King; adding, however, that the assistance which might be expected from a Parliament, did not exempt him altogether from the necessity of resorting to that prince for pecuniary aids, for that without such, he would be at the mercy of his subjects, and that upon this beginning would depend the whole fortune of the reign.* If Rochester actually expressed himself as Barillon relates, the use intended to be made of Parliament, cannot but cause the most lively indignation, while it furnishes a complete answer to the historians who accuse the parliaments of those days of unseasonable parsimony in their grants to the Stuart Kings; for the grants of the people of England were not destined, it seems, to enable their Kings to oppose

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* Barillon's Letter, February 19, 1685, in the Appendix, p. xviii.

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the power of France, or even to be independent of her, but to render the influence which Lewis was resolved to preserve in this country, less chargeable to him, by furnishing their quota to the support of his royal dependant.

The King's
object grati-
tude.

The French ambassadour sent immediately a detailed account of these conversations to his court, where, probably, they were not received with the less satisfaction on account of the request contained in them having been anticipated. Within a very few days from that in which the latter of them had passed, he was empowered to accompany the delivery of a letter from his master, with the agreeable news of having received from him bills of exchange to the amount of five hundred thousand livres, to be used in whatever manner might be convenient to the King of England's service. The account which Barillon gives, of the manner in which this sum was received, is altogether ridiculous: the King's eyes were full of tears, and three of his ministers, Rochester, Sunderland, and Godolphin, came severally to the French ambassadour, to express the sense their master had of the obligation, in terms the most lavish.* Indeed, demonstrations of gratitude from the King directly, as well as through his ministers, for

* Barillon's Letter, Feb. 26, in the Appendix, p. xxviii.

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this supply, were such, as if they had been used by some unfortunate individual, who, with his whole family, had been saved, by the timely succour of some kind and powerful protector, from a gaol and all its horrors, would be deemed rather too strong than too weak. Barillon himself seems surprised when he relates them; but imputes them to what was probably their real cause, to the apprehensions that had been entertained, (very unreasonable ones!) that the King of France might no longer choose to interfere in the affairs of England, and consequently that his support could not be relied on for the grand object of assimilating this government to his own.

If such apprehensions did exist, it is probable that they were chiefly owing to the very careless manner, to say the least, in which Lewis had of late fulfilled his pecuniary engagements to Charles, so as to amount, in the opinion of the English ministers, to an actual breach of promise. But the circumstances were in some respects altered. The French King had been convinced that Charles would never call a parliament; nay further, perhaps, that if he did, he would not be trusted by one; and considering him therefore entirely in his power, acted from that principle in insolent minds, which

Sagacity and
foresight of
Lewis the
Fourteenth.

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makes them fond of ill-treating and insulting those whom they have degraded to a dependence on them. But James would probably be obliged at the commencement of a new reign, to call a parliament, and if well used by such a body, and abandoned by France, might give up his project of arbitrary power, and consent to govern according to the law and constitution. In such an event Lewis easily foresaw, that, instead of an useful dependant, he might find upon the throne of England a formidable enemy. Indeed, this Prince and his ministers seem all along, with a sagacity that does them credit, to have foreseen, and to have justly estimated, the dangers to which they would be liable, if a cordial union should ever take place between a King of England and his Parliament, and the British councils be directed by men enlightened and warmed by the genuine principles of liberty. It was therefore an object of great moment to bind the new King, as early as possible, to the system of dependency upon France; and matter of no less triumph to the court of Versailles to have retained him by so moderate a fee, than to that of London to receive a sum, which, though small, was thought valuable, as an earnest of better wages, and future protection.

It had for some time been Lewis's favourite object to annex to his dominion what remained of the Spanish Netherlands, as well on account of their own intrinsic value, as to enable him to destroy the United Provinces and the Prince of Orange; and this object Charles had bound himself, by treaty with Spain, to oppose. In the joy, therefore, occasioned by this noble manner of proceeding, (for such it was called by all the parties concerned,) the first step was to agree, without hesitation, that Charles's treaty with Spain determined with his life; a decision which, if the disregard that had been shewn to it, did not render the question concerning it nugatory, it would be difficult to support upon any principles of national law or justice. The manner in which the late King had conducted himself upon the subject of this treaty, that is to say, the violation of it, without formally renouncing it, was gravely commended, and stated to be no more than what might justly be expected from him; but the present King was declared to be still more free, and in no way bound by a treaty, from the execution of which his brother had judged himself to be sufficiently dispensed. This appears to be a nice distinction, and what that degree of obligation was, from which James was exempt, but which had lain

CHAPTER
II.1685,
Treaty with
Spain dispensed with.

CHAPTER 11. upon Charles, who neither thought himself bound,
 1685. nor was expected by others to execute the treaty, it
 is difficult to conceive.*

More money
 solicited from
 Lewis.

This preliminary being adjusted, the meaning of which, through all this contemptible shuffling, was, that James, by giving up all concern for the Spanish Netherlands, should be at liberty to acquiesce in, or to second, whatever might be the ambitious projects of the court of Versailles, it was determined that Lord Churchill should be sent to Paris to obtain further pecuniary aids. But such was the impression made by the frankness and generosity of Lewis, that there was no question of discussing or capitulating, but every thing was remitted to that Prince, and to the information his ministers might give him, respecting the exigency of affairs in England. He who had so handsomely been beforehand, in granting the assistance of five hundred thousand livres, was only to be thanked for past, not importuned for future, munificence.† Thus ended, for the present, this disgusting scene of iniquity and nonsense, in which all the actors seemed to vie with each other in prostituting the sacred names of friendship, generosity, and gratitude, in one of the meanest

* Barillon's Dispatches, May 5, 1685. Appendix.

† *Ib.* Feb. 26.

and most criminal transactions which history records.

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The principal parties in the business, besides the King himself, to whose capacity, at least, if not to his situation, it was more suitable, and Lord Churchill, who acted as an inferior agent, were Sunderland, Rochester, and Godolphin, all men of high rank, and considerable abilities, but whose understandings, as well as their principles, seem to have been corrupted by the pernicious schemes in which they were engaged. With respect to the last mentioned nobleman in particular, it is impossible, without pain, to see him engaged in such transactions. With what self-humiliation must he not have reflected upon them in subsequent periods of his life! How little could Barillon guess that he was negotiating with one who was destined to be at the head of an administration, which, in a few years, would send the same Lord Churchill, not to Paris to implore Lewis for succours towards enslaving England, or to thank him for pensions to her monarch, but to combine all Europe against him, in the cause of liberty; to rout his armies, to take his towns, to humble his pride, and to shake to the foundation that fabrick of power which it had been the business of a long life to raise at the expense of every sentiment of tenderness to

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his subjects, and of justice and good faith to foreign nations! It is with difficulty the reader can persuade himself that the Godolphin and Churchill here mentioned, are the same persons who were afterwards, one in the cabinet, one in the field, the great conductors of the war of the Succession. How little do they appear in one instance! how great in the other! And the investigation of the cause to which this excessive difference is principally owing, will produce a most useful lesson. Is the difference to be attributed to any superiority of genius in the prince whom they served in the latter period of their lives? Queen Anne's capacity appears to have been inferior even to her father's. Did they enjoy in a greater degree her favour and confidence? The very reverse is the fact. But in one case they were the tools of a King plotting against his people; in the other, the ministers of a free government acting upon enlarged principles, and with energies which no state that is not in some degree republican can supply. How forcibly must the contemplation of these men in such opposite situations teach persons engaged in political life, that a free and popular government is desirable, not only for the publick good, but for their own greatness and consideration, for every object of generous ambition!

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II.1685.
Customs levied without
authority of
Parliament.

The King having, as has been related, first privately communicated his intentions to the French ambassadour, issued proclamations for the meeting of Parliament, and for levying upon his sole authority, the customs and other duties which had constituted part of the late King's revenue, but to which, the acts granting them having expired with the Prince, James was not legally entitled. He was advised by Lord Guildford, whom he had continued in the office of Keeper of the Great Seal, and who upon such a subject therefore, was a person likely to have the greatest weight, to satisfy himself with directing the money to be kept in the Exchequer for the disposal of Parliament, which was shortly to meet; and by others, to take bonds from the merchants for the duties, to be paid when Parliament should legalize them.* But these expedients were not suited to the King's views, who, as well on account of his engagement with France, as from his own disposition, was determined to take no step that might indicate an intention of governing by Parliaments, or a consciousness of his being dependant upon them for his revenue. He adopted, therefore, the advice of Jefferies, advice not resulting so much, probably, either from ignorance or violence of disposition, as

* Life of Lord Keeper North.

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from his knowledge that it would be most agreeable to his master ; and directed the duties to be paid as in the former reign. It was pretended, that an interruption in levying some of the duties might be hurtful to trade ; but as every difficulty of that kind was obviated by the expedients proposed, this arbitrary and violent measure can with no colour be ascribed to a regard to publick convenience, nor to any other motive than to a desire of reviving Charles the First's claims to the power of taxation, and of furnishing a most intelligible comment upon his speech to the council on the day of his accession. It became evident what the King's notions were, with respect to that regal prerogative from which he professed himself determined never to depart, and to that property which he would never invade. What were the remaining rights and liberties of the nation, which he was to preserve, might be more difficult to discover ; but that the laws of England, in the royal interpretation of them, were sufficient to make the King as great a monarch as he, or indeed any prince, could desire, was a point that could not be disputed. This violation of law was in itself most flagrant : it was applied to a point well understood, and thought to have been so completely settled by repeated and most explicit declarations,

of the legislature, that it must have been doubtful whether even the most corrupt judges, if the question had been tried, would have had the audacity to decide it against the subject. But no resistance was made; nor did the example of Hampden, which a half century before had been so successful, and rendered that patriot's name so illustrious, tempt any one to emulate his fame; so completely had the crafty and sanguinary measures of the late reign attained the object to which they were directed, and rendered all men either afraid or unwilling to exert themselves in the cause of liberty.

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On the other hand, addresses the most servile were daily sent to the Throne. That of the University of Oxford stated, that the religion which they professed bound them to unconditional obedience to their Sovereign, without restrictions or limitations; and the Society of Barristers and Students of the Middle-Temple, thanked his Majesty for the attention he had shewn to the trade of the kingdom, concerning which, and its balance, (and upon this last article they laid particular stress,) they seemed to think themselves peculiarly called upon to deliver their opinion. But whatever might be their knowledge in matters of trade, it was at least equal to that which these addressers shewed in the laws and constitution

Addresses.

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of their country, since they boldly affirmed the King's right to levy the duties, and declared that it had never been disputed but by persons engaged in what they were pleased to call, rebellion against his royal father. The address concluded with a sort of prayer, that all his Majesty's subjects might be as good lawyers as themselves, and disposed to acknowledge the royal prerogative in all its extent.

If these addresses are remarkable for their servility, that of the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the county of Suffolk was no less so for the spirit of party violence that was displayed in it. They would take care, they said, to choose representatives who should no more endure those who had been for the Exclusion Bill, than the last Parliament had the abhorrrers of the association; and thus not only endeavoured to keep up his Majesty's resentment against a part of their fellow-subjects, but engaged themselves to imitate, for the purpose of retaliation, that part of the conduct of their adversaries, which they considered as most illegal and oppressive.*

Observations
on them.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that among all the adulatory addresses of this time, there is not to be found, in any one of them, any declaration of disbelief in the Popish plot, or any charge upon the

* Rapin.

late Parliament, for having prosecuted it, though it could not but be well known, that such topicks would, of all others, be most agreeable to the Court. Hence we may collect that the delusion on this subject was by no means at an end, and that they who, out of a desire to render history conformable to the principles of poetical justice, attribute the unpopularity, and downfall of the Whigs, to the indignation excited by their furious and sanguinary prosecution of the plot, are egregiously mistaken. If this had been in any degree the prevailing sentiment, it is utterly unaccountable, that, so far from its appearing in any of the addresses of these times, this most just ground of reproach upon the Whig party, and the Parliament in which they had had the superiority, was the only one omitted in them. The fact appears to have been the very reverse of what such historians suppose, and that the activity of the late parliamentary leaders, in prosecuting the Popish plot, was the principal circumstance which reconciled the nation for a time, to their other proceedings; that their conduct in that business, (now so justly condemned,) was the grand engine of their power, and that when that failed, they were soon overpowered by the united forces of bigotry and corruption. They were hated by a great part of the nation, not for their crimes,

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but for their virtues. To be above corruption is always odious to the corrupt, and to entertain more enlarged and juster notions of philosophy and government, is often a cause of alarm to the narrow-minded, and superstitious. In those days particularly, it was obvious to refer to the confusion, greatly exaggerated, of the times of the Commonwealth ; and it was an excellent watch-word of alarm, to accuse every lover of law and liberty, of designs to revive the tragical scene which had closed the life of the first Charles. In this spirit, therefore, the Exclusion Bill, and the alledged conspiracies of Sidney and Russel were, as might naturally be expected, the chief charges urged against the Whigs ; but their conduct on the subject of the Popish plot, was so far from being the cause of the hatred borne to them, that it was not even used as a topick of accusation against them.

Late King's
Declaration,

In order to keep up that spirit in the nation, which was thought to be manifested in the addresses, his Majesty ordered the Declaration, to which allusion was made in the last chapter, to be published, interwoven with a history of the Rye-house plot, which is said to have been drawn by Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester. The principal drift of this publication was, to load the memory of Sidney and Russel, and

to blacken the character of the Duke of Monmouth, by wickedly confounding the consultations holden by them, with the plot for assassinating the late King, and in this object, it seems in a great measure to have succeeded. He also caused to be published, an attestation of his brother's having died a Roman Catholic, together with two papers, drawn up by him, in favour of that persuasion. This is generally considered to have been a very ill-advised instance of zeal ; but probably James thought, that, at a time when people seemed to be so in love with his power, he might safely venture to indulge himself in a display of his attachment to his religion ; and perhaps too, it might be thought good policy, to shew that a Prince, who had been so highly complimented as Charles had been, for the restoration and protection of the church, had, in truth, been a Catholic, and thus, to inculcate an opinion, that the Church of England might not only be safe, but highly favoured, under the reign of a Popish Prince.

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and Attestation of his dying a Catholic, published.

Persecution of Dissenters.

Partly from similar motives, and partly to gratify the natural vindictiveness of his temper, he persevered in a most cruel persecution of the Protestant Dissenters, upon the most frivolous pretences. The courts of justice, as in Charles's days, were instruments equally ready, either for seconding the policy,

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Jefferies' character.

OR for gratifying the bad passions, of the Monarch ; and Jefferies, whom the late King had appointed Chief Justice of England, a little before Sidney's trial, was a man entirely agreeable to the temper, and suitable to the purposes, of the present government. He was thought not to be very learned in his profession ; but what might be wanting in knowledge, he made up in positiveness ; and indeed whatever might be the difficulties in questions between one subject and another, the fashionable doctrine which prevailed at that time, of supporting the King's prerogative in its full extent, and without restriction or limitation, rendered, to such as espoused it, all that branch of law, which is called constitutional, extremely easy and simple. He was as submissive and mean to those above him, as he was haughty and insolent to those who were in any degree in his power ; and if in his own conduct he did not exhibit a very nice regard for morality, or even for decency, he never failed to animadvert upon, and to punish, the most slight deviation in others, with the utmost severity, especially if they were persons whom he suspected to be no favourites of the Court.

Richard Baxter persecuted.

Before this magistrate was brought for trial, by a jury sufficiently prepossessed in favour of Tory politicks, the Reverend Richard Baxter, a dissenting

minister; a pious and learned man, of exemplary character, always remarkable for his attachment to monarchy, and for leaning to moderate measures in the differences between the church, and those of his persuasion. The pretence for this prosecution was, a supposed reference of some passages in one of his works, to the bishops of the church of England; a reference which was certainly not intended by him, and which could not have been made out to any jury that had been less prejudiced, or under any other direction than that of Jefferies. The real motive was, the desire of punishing an eminent dissenting teacher, whose reputation was high among his sect, and who was supposed to favour the political opinions of the Whigs. He was found guilty, and Jefferies, in passing sentence upon him, loaded him with the coarsest reproaches, and bitterest taunts. He called him sometimes, by way of derision, a saint, sometimes, in plainer terms, an old rogue; and classed this respectable divine, to whom the only crime imputed, was the having spoken disrespectfully of the bishops of a communion to which he did not belong, with the infamous Oates, who had been lately convicted of perjury. He finished with declaring, that it was matter of publick notoriety, that there was a formed design to ruin the King and the

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 1685. nation, in which this old man was the principal incendiary. Nor is it improbable that this declaration, absurd as it was, might gain belief, at a time when the credulity of the triumphant party was at its height.

Credulity of
 the nation.

Of this credulity it seems to be no inconsiderable testimony, that some affected nicety, which James had shewn, with regard to the ceremonies to be used towards the French ambassadour, was highly magnified, and represented to be an indication of the different tone that was to be taken by the present King, in regard to foreign powers, and particularly to the court of Versailles. The King was represented as a Prince eminently jealous of the national honour, and determined to preserve the balance of power in Europe, by opposing the ambitious projects of France, at the very time when he was supplicating Lewis to be his pensioner, and expressing the most extravagant gratitude, for having been accepted as such. From the information which we now have, it appears that his applications to Lewis for money were incessant, and that the difficulties were all on the side of the French court.* Of the historians who wrote prior to the inspection of the papers in the Foreign Office in France, Burnet is the only

* Vide Appendix passim.

one who seems to have known that James's pretensions of independency with respect to the French King, were, (as he terms them,) only a show; but there can now be no reason to doubt the truth of the anecdote which he relates, that Lewis, soon after, told the Duke of Villeroy,* that if James showed any apparent uneasiness concerning the balance of power, (and there is some reason to suppose he did,) in his conversations with the Spanish, and other foreign ambassadors, his intention was, probably, to alarm the Court of Versailles, and thereby to extort pecuniary assistance to a greater extent; while, on the other hand, Lewis, secure in the knowledge, that his views of absolute power must continue him in dependance upon France, seems to have refused further supplies, and even in some measure to have withdrawn those which had been stipulated, as a mark of his displeasure with his dependant, for assuming a higher tone than he thought becoming.†

Whether with a view of giving some countenance to those who were praising him upon the above mentioned topick, or from what other motive it is now not easy to conjecture, James seems to have wished to be upon apparent good terms, at least, with

His advances
to the Prince
of Orange.

* Vide Burnet, Vol. II. p. 302.

† Lewis's Letter to Barillon, April 24. Appendix.

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the Prince of Orange; and after some correspondence with that Prince, concerning the protection afforded by him, and the States General, to Monmouth, and other obnoxious persons, it appears that he declared himself, in consequence of certain explanations and concessions, perfectly satisfied. It is to be remarked, however, that he thought it necessary to give the French ambassadour an account of this transaction, and in a manner to apologize to him for entering into any sort of terms with a son-in-law, who was supposed to be hostile in disposition to the French King. He assured Barillon, that a change of system, on the part of the Prince of Orange, in regard to Lewis, should be a condition of his reconciliation: he afterwards informed him, that the Prince of Orange had answered him satisfactorily in all other respects, but had not taken notice of his wish that he should connect himself with France; but never told him that he had, notwithstanding the Prince's silence on that material point, expressed himself completely satisfied with him.* That a proposition to the Prince of Orange, to connect himself in politicks with Lewis, would, (if made,) have been rejected, in the manner in which the King's account to Barillon implies that it was, there can be no doubt; but whether

* Barillon's Dispatches, March 1, and 5, Appendix, p. xli. et seqq.

James ever had the assurance to make it, is more questionable ; for, as he evidently acted disingenuously with the ambassadour, in concealing from him the complete satisfaction he had expressed of the Prince of Orange's present conduct ;* it is not unreasonable to suppose, that he deceived him still further, and pretended to have made an application, which he had never hazarded. However, the ascertaining of this fact is by no means necessary for the illustration, either of the general history, or of James's particular character ; since it appears, that the proposition, if made, was rejected ; and James is, in any case, equally convicted of insincerity ; the only point in question being, whether he deceived the French ambassadour, in regard to the fact of his having made the proposition, or to the sentiments he expressed upon its being refused. Nothing serves more to show the dependance in which he considered himself to be upon Lewis, than these contemptible shifts, to which he condescended, for the purposes of explaining, and apologizing for, such parts of his conduct, as might be supposed to be less agreeable to that monarch than the rest. An English Parliament acting upon constitutional principles, and the Prince of Orange, were the two enemies

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* Dalrymple's Mem. II. 116.

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whom Lewis most dreaded ; and accordingly, whenever James found it necessary to make approaches to either of them, an apology was immediately to be offered to the French ambassadour, to which truth sometimes and honour was always sacrificed.*

The primary
object of his
reign,

Mr. Hume says, the King found himself, by degrees, under the necessity of falling into an union with the French monarch, who could alone assist him, in promoting the Catholick religion in England. But when that historian wrote, those documents had not been made publick, from which the account of the communications with Barillon has been taken, and by which it appears, that a connection with France was, as well in point of time, as in importance, the first object of his reign, and that the immediate specifick motive to that connection, was the same as that of his brother; the desire of rendering himself independent of Parliament, and absolute, not that of establishing Popery in England, which was considered as a more remote contingency.+ That this was the case, is evident from all the circumstances of the transaction, and especially from the zeal with which he was served in it by Ministers who were never suspected of any leaning towards Popery, and not one of whom, (Sunderland excepted,) could be brought

* Vide Appendix passim.

+ Appendix passim.

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to the measures that were afterwards taken in favour of that religion. It is the more material to attend to this distinction, because the Tory historians, especially such of them as are not Jacobites, have taken much pains to induce us to attribute the violences and illegalities of this reign to James's religion, which was peculiar to him, rather than to that desire of absolute power, which so many other princes have had, have, and always will have in common with him. The policy of such misrepresentation is obvious. If this reign is to be considered as a period insulated, as it were, and unconnected with the general course of history, and if the events of it are to be attributed exclusively, to the particular character, and particular attachments of the monarch, the sole inference will be, that we must not have a Catholick for our King; whereas, if we consider it, which history well warrants us to do, as a part of that system which had been pursued by all the Stuart Kings, as well prior, as subsequent, to the Restoration, the lesson which it affords is very different, as well as far more instructive. We are taught, generally, the dangers Englishmen will always be liable to, if, from favour to a Prince upon the throne, or from a confidence, however grounded, that his views are agreeable to our own notions of

misrepresented by
historians

CHAPTER II. the constitution, we, in any considerable degree, abate
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Scottish parliament.
 April 23.

Previous to meeting his English Parliament, James directed a parliament which had been summoned in the preceding reign, to assemble at Edinburgh, and appointed the Duke of Queensbury his commissioner. This appointment is, in itself, a strong indication, that the King's views, with regard to Scotland at least, were similar to those which I have ascribed to him in England ; and that they did not at that time extend to the introduction of Popery, but were altogether directed to the establishment of absolute power as the *end*, and to the support of an episcopal church, upon the model of the church of England, as the *means*. For Queensbury had explained himself to his Majesty, in the fullest manner, upon the subject of religion ; and while he professed himself to be ready, (as indeed his conduct in the late reign had sufficiently proved,) to go any length in supporting

royal power, and in persecuting the Presbyterians, had made it a condition of his services, that he might understand from his Majesty, that there was no intention of changing the established religion ; for if such was the object, he could not make any one step with him in that matter. James received this declaration most kindly; assured him he had no such intention, and that he would have a parliament, to which he, Queensbury, should go as commissioner; and giving all possible assurances in the matter of religion, get the revenue to be settled, and such other laws to be past, as might be necessary for the publick safety. With these promises the Duke was not only satisfied at the time, but declared, at a subsequent period, that they had been made in so frank and hearty a manner, as made him conclude, that it was impossible the King should be acting apart. And this noblemen was considered, and is handed down to us by contemporary writers, as a man of a penetrating genius, nor has it ever been the national character of the country to which he belonged, to be more liable to be imposed upon than the rest of mankind.

The Scottish Parliament met on the 23d of April, and was opened by the Commissioner, with the following letter from the King :

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The King's
letter.

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“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ The many experiences we have had of the loyalty, and exemplary forwardness of that our ancient kingdom, by their representatives in parliament assembled, in the reign of our deceased, and most entirely beloved brother, of ever blessed memory, made us desirous to call you at this time, in the beginning of our reign, to give you an opportunity, not only of shewing your duty to us in the same manner, but likewise of being exemplary to others, in your demonstrations of affection to our person, and compliance with our desires, as you have most eminently been in times past, to a degree never to be forgotten by us, nor, (we hope,) to be contradicted by your future practices. That which we are at this time to propose unto you is, what is as necessary for your safety as our service, and what has a tendency more to secure your own privileges and properties, than the aggrandising our power and authority, (though in it consists the greatest security of your rights and interests, these never having been in danger, except when the royal power was brought too low to protect them,) which now we are resolved to maintain in its greatest lustre, to the end we may be the more enabled to defend and

“ protect your religion as established by law ; and your
 “ rights and properties (which was our design in
 “ calling this parliament) against phanatical contri-
 “ vances, murderers and assassins, who having no
 “ fear of God, more than honour for us, have brought
 “ you into such difficulties, as only the blessing of
 “ God upon the steady resolutions, and actings of our
 “ said dearest royal brother, and those employed by
 “ him, (in prosecution of the good and wholesome
 “ laws, by you heretofore offered,) could have saved
 “ you from the most horrid confusions, and inevitable
 “ ruin. Nothing has been left unattempted by those
 “ wild, and inhuman traitors, for endeavouring to
 “ overturn your peace : and therefore, we have good
 “ reason to hope, that nothing will be wanting in
 “ you, to secure yourselves and us from their out-
 “ rages and violence, in time coming ; and to take
 “ care that such conspirators meet with their just
 “ deservings, so as others may thereby be deterred
 “ from courses so little agreeable to religion, or their
 “ duty and allegiance to us. These things we consi-
 “ dered to be of so great importance to our royal, as
 “ well as the universal, interest of that our kingdom,
 “ that we were fully resolved, in person, to have pro-
 “ posed the needful remedies to you. But things
 “ having so fallen out, as render this impossible for
 “ us, we have now thought fit, to send our right

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“ trusty, and right entirely beloved cousin, and coun-
“ sellor, William Duke of Queensbury, to be our
“ commissioner amongst you; of whose abilities and
“ qualifications we have reason to be fully satisfied,
“ and of whose faithfulness to us, and zeal for our in-
“ terest, we have had signal proofs, in the times of
“ our greatest difficulties. Him we have fully en-
“ trusted in all things relating to our service, and
“ your own prosperity and happiness, and therefore,
“ you are to give him entire trust and credit, as you
“ now see we have done, from whose prudence, and
“ your most dutiful affection to us, we have full con-
“ fidence of your entire compliance and assistance in
“ all those matters, wherein he is instructed as afore-
“ said. We do therefore, not only recommend unto
“ you, that such things be done as are necessary in
“ this juncture, for your own peace, and the support
“ of our royal interest, of which we had so much ex-
“ perience when amongst you, that we cannot doubt
“ of your full and ample expressing the same on this
“ occasion, by which the great concern we have in
“ you, our antient and kindly people, may still in-
“ crease, and you may transmit your loyal actions,
“ (as examples of duty,) to your posterity. In full
“ confidence whereof we do assure you of our royal
“ favour and protection, in all your concerns; and
“ so we bid you heartily farewell.”

This letter deserves the more attention, because, as the proceedings of the Scotch parliament, according to a remarkable expression in the letter itself, were intended to be an example to others, there is the greatest reason to suppose the matter of it must have been maturely weighed and considered. His Majesty first compliments the Scotch parliament upon their peculiar loyalty, and dutiful behaviour in past times, meaning, no doubt, to contrast their conduct with that of those English parliaments who had passed the Exclusion Bill, the Disbanding Act, the Habeas Corpus Act, and other measures hostile to his favourite principles of government. He states the granting of an independant revenue, and the supporting the prerogative in its greatest lustre, if not the aggrandizing of it, to be necessary for the preservation of their religion, established by law, (that is the Protestant Episcopacy,) as well as for the security of their properties against fanatical assassins and murderers ; thus emphatically announcing a complete union of interests between the Crown and the Church. He then bestows a complete and unqualified approbation of the persecuting measures of the last reign, in which he had borne so great a share ; and to those measures, and to the steadiness with which they had been persevered in, he ascribes

CHAPTER II.
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Transactions
 in Scotland.

Now, it is proper, in this place, to enquire into the nature of the measures thus extolled, as well for the purpose of elucidating the characters of the King and his Scottish ministers, as for that of rendering more intelligible, the subsequent proceedings of the parliament, and the other events which soon after took place in that kingdom. Some general notions may be formed of that course of proceedings, which, according to his Majesty's opinion, had been so laudably and resolutely pursued during the late reign, from the circumstances alluded to in the preceding chapter, when it is understood, that the sentences of Argyle and Laurie of Blackwood were not detached instances of oppression, but rather a sample of the general system of administration. The covenant, which had been so solemnly taken by the whole kingdom, and, among the rest, by the King himself, had been declared to be unlawful, and a refusal to abjure it had been made subject to the severest penalties. Episcopacy, which was detested by a great majority of the nation, had been

established, and all publick exercise of religion, in the forms to which the people were most attached, had been prohibited. The attendance upon field conventicles had been made highly penal, and the preaching at them capital; by which means, according to the computation of a late writer, no less remarkable for the accuracy of his facts, than for the force and justness of his reasonings, at least seventeen thousand persons in one district were involved in criminality, and became the objects of persecution. After this, letters had been issued by government, forbidding the intercommuning with persons who had neglected, or refused, to appear before the privy council, when cited for the above crimes; a proceeding, by which, not only all succour or assistance to such persons, but, according to the strict sense of the word made use of, all intercourse with them, was rendered criminal, and subjected him who disobeyed the prohibition to the same penalties, whether capital or others, which were affixed to the alledged crimes of the party with whom he had intercommuned.*

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These measures not proving effectual for the purpose for which they were intended, or, as some say, the object of Charles the Second's government being

Measures of
persecution.

* Laing's Hist. Vol. IV. 34, 60. 74. Woodrow.

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to provoke an insurrection, a demand was made upon the landholders, in the district supposed to be most disaffected, of bonds, whereby they were to become responsible for their wives, families, tenants, and servants; and likewise for the wives, families, and servants of their tenants, and finally, for all persons living upon their estates; that they should not withdraw from the church, frequent or preach at conventicles, nor give any succour, or have any intercourse with persons with whom it was forbidden to intercommune; and the penalties attached to the breach of this engagement, the keeping of which, was obviously out of the power of him who was required to make it, were to be the same as those, whether capital or other, to which the several persons, for whom he engaged, might be liable. The landholders, not being willing to subscribe to their own destruction, refused to execute the bonds, and this was thought sufficient grounds for considering the district to which they belonged as in a state of rebellion. English and Irish armies were ordered to the frontiers; a train of artillery, and the militia, were sent into the district itself; and six thousand Highlanders, who were let loose upon its inhabitants, to exercise every species of pillage and plunder, were connived at,

or rather encouraged, in excesses of a still more
atrocious nature.*

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Writs of Law-
burrows.

The bonds being still refused, the government had recourse to an expedient of a most extraordinary nature; and issued what the Scotch called a writ of Lawburrows, against the whole district. This writ of Lawburrows is somewhat analogous to what we call *swearing the peace* against any one, and had hitherto been supposed, as the other is with us, to be applicable to the disputes of private individuals, and to the apprehensions, which, in consequence of such disputes, they may mutually entertain of each other. A Government swearing the peace against its subjects was a new spectacle; *but if a private subject, under fear of another, hath a right to such a security, how much more the government itself?* was thought an unanswerable argument. Such are the sophistries which tyrants deem satisfactory. Thus are they willing even to descend from their loftiness, into the situation of subjects or private men, when it is for the purpose of acquiring additional powers of persecution; and thus truly formidable and terrifick are, they, when they pretend alarm and fear. By these writs, the persons against whom they were directed, were bound, as in case of the former bonds, to conditions which were

* Burnet. Woodrow. Laing, IV. 83.

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not in their power to fulfil, such as the preventing of conventicles and the like, under such penalties as the privy council might inflict, and a disobedience to them was followed by outlawry and confiscation.

Approved of
at Court.

The conduct of the Duke of Lauderdale, who was the chief actor in these scenes of violence and iniquity, was completely approved and justified at Court; but, in consequence, probably, of the state of politicks in England, at a time when the Whigs were strongest in the House of Commons, some of these grievances were in part redressed, and the Highlanders, and writs of Lawburrows were recalled. But the country was still treated like a conquered country. The Highlanders were replaced by an army of five thousand regulars, and garrisons were placed in private houses. The persecution of conventicles continued; and ample indemnity was granted for every species of violence that might be exercised

Assassination
of Arch-
bishop Sharp.

by those employed to suppress them. In this state of things, the assassination and murder of Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, by a troop of fanatics, who had been driven to madness by the oppression of Carmichael, one of that prelate's instruments, while it gave an additional spur to the vindictive temper of the government, was considered by it as a justification for every mode and degree of cruelty and

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persecution. The outrage committed by a few individuals, was imputed to the whole fanatick sect, as the government termed them, or, in other words, to a description of people which composed a great majority of the population in the low-lands of Scotland; and those who attended field or armed conventicles, were ordered to be indiscriminately massacred.

By such means an insurrection was at last produced, which, from the weakness, or, as some suppose, from the wicked policy of an administration eager for confiscations, and desirous of such a state of the country as might, in some measure, justify their course of government, *[made such a progress that the insurgents] became masters of Glasgow, and the country adjacent. To quell these insurgents, who, undisciplined as they were, had defeated Graham, afterwards Viscount Dundee, the Duke of Monmouth was sent with an army from England; but, lest the generous mildness of his nature should prevail, he had sealed orders, which he was not to open till in sight of the rebels, enjoining him not to treat with them, but to fall upon them, without any previous negotiation. In pursuance of these orders, the insurgents were attacked at Bothwell Bridge, where,

Insurrection
of Bothwell
Bridge.

* The words between the brackets have been inserted to complete the sense, there having been evidently an omission in the manuscript copy. E.

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though they were entirely routed and dispersed, yet, because those who surrendered at discretion were not put to death, and the army, by the strict enforcing of discipline, were prevented from plunder and other outrages, it was represented by James, and in some degree even by the King, that Monmouth had acted as if he had meant rather to put himself at the head of the fanatics than to repel them, and were inclined rather to court their friendship than to punish their rebellion. All complaints against Lauderdale were dismissed; his power confirmed; and an act of indemnity, which had been procured at Monmouth's intercession, was so clogged with exceptions, as to be of little use to any but to the agents of tyranny. Several persons, who were neither directly, nor indirectly concerned in the murder of the Archbishop, were executed as an expiation for that offence;* but many more were obliged to compound for their lives, by submitting to the most rapacious extortion, which at this particular period, seems to have been the engine of oppression most in fashion, and which was extended, not only to those who had been in any way concerned in the insurrection, but to those who had neglected to attend the standard of the King, when displayed against what was styled, in

* Laing, IV. 164. Woodrow, II. 87. 90.

the usual insulting language of tyrants, a most unnatural rebellion.

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More severe
persecution.

The quiet produced by such means, was, as might be expected, of no long duration. Enthusiasm was increased by persecution, and the fanatick preachers found no difficulty in persuading their flocks, to throw off all allegiance to a government which afforded them no protection. The King was declared to be an apostate from the Covenant, a tyrant, and an usurper; and Cargill, one of the most enthusiastick among the preachers, pronounced a formal sentence of excommunication against him, his brother the Duke of York, and others, their ministers and abettors. This outrage upon majesty, together with an insurrection, contemptible in point of numbers and strength, in which Cameron, another field-preacher, had been killed, furnished a pretence which was by no means neglected, for new cruelties and executions; but neither death nor torture were sufficient to subdue the minds of Cargill, and his intrepid followers. They all gloried in their sufferings; nor could the meanest of them be brought to purchase their lives by a retractation of their principles, or even by any expression that might be construed into an approbation of their persecutors. The effect of this heroick constancy upon the minds of their

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oppressors, was to persuade them not to lessen the numbers of executions, but to render them more private;* whereby they exposed the true character of their government, which was not severity, but violence, not justice, but vengeance: for, example being the only legitimate end of punishment, where that is likely to encourage, rather than to deter, (as the government in these instances seems to have apprehended,) and consequently to prove more pernicious than salutary, every punishment inflicted by the magistrate is cruelty; every execution, murder. The rage of punishment did not stop even here; but questions were put to persons, and in many instances to persons under torture, who had not been proved to have been in any of the insurrections, whether *they considered the Archbishop's assassination as murder, the rising at Bothwell Bridge rebellion, and Charles a lawful King.* The refusal to answer these questions, or the answering of them in an unsatisfactory manner, was deemed a proof of guilt, and immediate execution ensued.

Act of Succession and Test.

These last proceedings had taken place while James himself had the government in his hands, and under his immediate directions. Not long after, and when the Exclusionists in England were supposed

* Woodrow, II. 189.

to be entirely defeated, was passed, (James being the King's commissioner,) the famous Bill of Succession, declaring that no difference of religion, nor any statute or law grounded upon such, or any other pretence, could defeat the hereditary right of the heir to the crown, and that to propose any limitation upon the future administration of such heir, was high treason. But the Protestant religion was to be secured ; for those who were most obsequious to the Court, and the most willing and forward instruments of its tyranny, were, nevertheless, zealous Protestants. A Test was therefore framed for this purpose, which was imposed upon all persons exercising any civil or military functions whatever, the royal family alone excepted ; but to the declaration of adherence to the Protestant religion, was added a recognition of the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and a complete renunciation in civil concerns, of every right belonging to a free subject. An adherence to the Protestant religion, according to the confession of it referred to in the test, seemed to some inconsistent with the acknowledgment of the King's supremacy, and that clause of the oath which related to civil matters, inasmuch as it declared against endeavouring at any alteration in the Church or State, seemed incompatible with the duties of a

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Argyle con-
demned for
his explana-
tion of the
Test.

counsellor or a member of parliament. Upon these grounds the Earl of Argyle, in taking the oath, thought fit to declare as follows :

“ I have considered the test, and I am very
 “ desirous to give obedience as far as I can. I am
 “ confident the Parliament never intended to impose
 “ contradictory oaths ; therefore I think no man can
 “ explain it but for himself. Accordingly I take it,
 “ as far as it is consistent with itself, and the Pro-
 “ testant religion. And I do declare, that I mean not
 “ to bind up myself in my station, and in a lawful
 “ way, to wish and endeavour any alteration I think
 “ to the advantage of the Church or State, not re-
 “ pugnant to the Protestant Religion and my loy-
 “ alty. And this I understand as a part of the
 “ oath.”—And for this declaration, though unno-
 ticed at the time, he was in a few days afterwards
 committed, and shortly after sentenced to die.* Nor
 was the test applied only to those for whom it had
 been originally instituted, but by being offered to
 those numerous classes of people who were within

* The disgusting ease with which James, (in his *Memoirs*, Macpherson's *State Papers*, I. 123) speaks of Argyle's case, his pretence, that he put his life in jeopardy only with a view to seize his property, seem to destroy all notions of this Prince's having had any honour or conscience; nor after this, can we give much credit to the declaration, that Argyle's life was not aimed at. *Note from Mr. Fox's Common-Place Book.*

the reach of the late severe criminal laws, as an alternative for death or confiscation, it might fairly be said to be imposed upon the greater part of the country.

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Not long after these transactions, James took his final leave of the government, and in his parting speech recommended, in the strongest terms, the support of the church. This gracious expression, the sincerity of which seemed to be evinced by his conduct to the conventiclers, and the severity with which he had enforced the test, obtained him a testimonial from the Bishops of his affection to their Protestant church; a testimonial, to which, upon the principle, that they are the best friends to the church, who are most willing to persecute such as dissent from it, he was, notwithstanding his own non-conformity, most amply entitled.*

Queensberry's administration ensued, in which the maxims that had guided his predecessors were so far from being relinquished, that they were pursued, if possible, with greater steadiness and activity. Lawrie of Blackwood was condemned for having holden intercourse with a rebel, whose name was not to be found in any of the lists of the intercommunicated or proscribed; and a proclamation was issued, threatening all who were in like circumstances with a similar fate. The intercourse with rebels having

Queensberry's extortions.

* Burnet.

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been in great parts of the kingdom promiscuous and universal, more than twenty thousand persons were objects of this menace.* Fines and extortions of all kinds were employed to enrich the publick treasury, to which, therefore, the multiplication of crimes became a fruitful source of revenue; and lest it should not be sufficiently so, husbands were made answerable, (and that too with a retrospect,) for the absence of their wives from church; a circumstance which the Presbyterian women's aversion to the episcopal form of worship, had rendered very general.†

Declaration
of the Came-
ronians.

This system of government, and especially the rigour with which those concerned in the late insurrections, the excommunication of the King, or the other outrages complained of, were pursued and hunted, sometimes by blood-hounds, sometimes by soldiers almost equally savage, and afterwards shot like wild beasts,‡ drove some of those sectaries who were styled Cameronians, and other proscribed persons, to measures of absolute desperation. They made a declaration, which they caused to be affixed to different churches, importing, that they would use the law of retaliation, and “*we will,*” said they, “*punish as enemies to God, and to the covenant, such persons as shall make it their work to imbrue their*

* Burnet. Laing, 132. † Id. 140. ‡ Woodrow, II. 447. 449.

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*“ hands in our blood ; and chiefly, if they shall continue
“ obstinately, and with habitual malice to proceed against
“ us ;”* with more to the like effect.* Upon such an occasion, the interference of government became necessary. The government did indeed interfere, and by a vote of council, ordered, that whoever owned, or refused to disown, the Declaration on oath, should be put to death, in the presence of two witnesses, though unarmed when taken. The execution of this massacre, in the twelve counties which were principally concerned, was committed to the military, and exceeded, if possible, the order itself. The disowning the Declaration was required to be in a particular form prescribed. Women, obstinate in their fanaticism, lest female blood should be a stain upon the swords of soldiers engaged in this honourable employment, were drowned. The habitations, as well of those who had fled to save themselves, as of those who suffered, were burnt and destroyed. Such members of the families of the delinquents as were above twelve years old, were imprisoned for the purpose of being afterwards transported. The brutality of the soldiers was such as might be expected from an army let loose from all restraint, and employed to execute

Massacre of
Fanatics.

* Woodrow, II. Append. 137.

CHAPTER the royal justice, as it was called, upon wretches.
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* Burnet. Woodrow. Laing.

seemed to have been the crowning measure, as it were, or finishing stroke, of that system, for the steady perseverance in which James so much admired the resolution of his brother.

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It has been judged necessary to detail these transactions, in a manner which may, to some readers, appear an impertinent digression from the narrative in which this history is at present engaged, in order to set in a clearer light, some points of the greatest importance. In the first place, from the summary review of the affairs of Scotland, and from the complacency with which James looks back to his own share of them, joined to the general approbation he expressed of the conduct of Government in that kingdom, we may form a pretty just notion, as well of his maxims of policy, as of his temper and disposition, in matters where his bigotry to the Roman Catholick religion had no share. For it is to be observed, and carefully kept in mind, that the church, of which he not only recommends the support, but which he showed himself ready to maintain, by the most violent means, is the Episcopalian church of the Protestants; that the test which he enforced at the point of the bayonet was a Protestant test, so much so indeed, that he himself could not take it; and that the more marked character of the conventicles, the objects of his

Observations

On the disposition of James.

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persecution, was not so much that of hereticks excommunicated by the Pope, as of dissenters from the church of England, and irreconcilable enemies to the Protestant Liturgy and the Protestant Episcopacy. But he judged the church of England to be a most fit instrument for rendering the monarchy absolute. On the other hand, the Presbyterians were thought naturally hostile to the principles of passive obedience, and to one or other, or with more probability, to both, of these considerations, joined to the natural violence of his temper, is to be referred the whole of his conduct, in this part of his life, which in this view, is rational enough; but on the supposition of his having conceived thus early, the intention of introducing Popery upon the ruins of the church of England, is wholly unaccountable, and no less absurd, than if a general were to put himself to great cost and pains to furnish with ammunition, and to strengthen with fortifications, a place of which he was actually meditating the attack.

On the primary object of his government.

The next important observation that occurs, and to which even they who are most determined to believe that this Prince had always Popery in view, and held every other consideration as subordinate to that primary object, must nevertheless subscribe, is, that the most confidential advisers, as well as the

most furious supporters, of the measures we have related, were not Roman Catholicks. Lauderdale and Queensberry were both Protestants. There is no reason, therefore, to impute any of James's violence afterwards to the suggestions of his Catholick advisers, since he who had been engaged in the series of measures above related, with Protestant counsellors and coadjutors, had surely nothing to learn from Papists, (whether priests, jesuits, or others,) in the science of tyranny. Lastly, from this account we are enabled to form some notion of the state of Scotland, at a time when the parliament of that kingdom was called to set an example for this, and we find it to have been a state of more absolute slavery than at that time subsisted in any part of Christendom.

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On the state
of Scotland.

Proceedings
of the Scotch
Parliament.
April 28.

The affairs of Scotland being in the state which we have described, it is no wonder that the King's letter was received with acclamations of applause, and that the parliament opened, not only with approbation of the government, but even with an enthusiastick zeal, to signalize their loyalty, as well by a perfect acquiescence to the King's demands, as by the most fulsome expressions of adulation. "*What Prince in Europe, or in the whole world,*" said the Chancellor Perth, "*was ever like the late King, except his present Majesty, who had undergone every trial of prosperity*

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*“ and adversity, and whose unwearied clemency was
“ not among the least conspicuous of his virtues? To
“ advance his honour and greatness, was the duty of
“ all his subjects, and ought to be the endeavour of
“ their lives without reserve.”* The Parliament voted
an address, scarcely less adulatory than the Chan-
cellor’s speech.

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

“ Your Majesty’s gracious and kind remembrance
“ of the services done by this, your ancient kingdom,
“ to the late King your brother, of ever glorious
“ memory, shall rather raise in us ardent desires to
“ exceed whatever we have done formerly, than
“ make us consider them as deserving the esteem
“ your Majesty is pleased to express of them in
“ your Letter to us, dated the twenty-eighth of March.
“ The death of that our excellent Monarch is la-
“ mented by us to all the degrees of grief that are
“ consistent with our great joy for the succession of
“ your Sacred Majesty, who has not only continued,
“ but secured the happiness, which his wisdom, his
“ justice, and clemency procured to us: and having
“ the honour to be the first Parliament which meets
“ by your Royal Authority, of which we are very
“ sensible, your Majesty may be confident, that we

“ will offer such laws as may best secure your
“ Majesty’s sacred person, the royal family, and
“ government, and be so exemplary loyal, as to
“ raise your honour and greatness to the utmost of
“ our power, which we shall ever esteem both our
“ duty and interest. Nor shall we leave any thing
“ undone for extirpating all fanaticism, but espe-
“ cially those fanatical murtherers and assassins, and
“ for detecting and punishing the late conspirators,
“ whose pernicious and execrable designs did so
“ much tend to subvert your Majesty’s government,
“ and ruin us and all your Majesty’s faithful subjects.
“ We can assure your Majesty, that the subjects of
“ this your Majesty’s ancient kingdom are so desi-
“ rous to exceed all their predecessors in extraor-
“ dinary marks of affection and obedience to your
“ Majesty, that, (God be praised,) the only way to
“ be popular with us, is to be eminently loyal.
“ Your Majesty’s care of us, when you took us
“ to be your special charge, your wisdom in extin-
“ guishing the seeds of rebellion and faction amongst
“ us, your justice, which was so great, as to be for
“ ever exemplary, but above all, your Majesty’s
“ free and cheerful securing to us our religion,
“ when you were the late King’s, your Royal Bro-
“ ther’s Commissioner, now again renewed, when

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1685. “ you are our Sovereign, are what your subjects
“ here can never forget, and therefore your Majesty
“ may expect that we will think your commands
“ sacred as your person, and that your inclination
“ will prevent our debates; nor did ever any who
“ represented our Monarchs as their Commissioners,
“ (except your royal self,) meet with greater re-
“ spect, or more exact observance from a Parlia-
“ ment, than the Duke of Queensberry, (whom your
“ Majesty has so wisely chosen to represent you in
“ this, and of whose eminent loyalty, and great
“ abilities in all his former employments, this nation
“ hath seen so many proofs,) shall find from

“ May it please your Sacred Majesty,
“ your Majesty’s most humble, most faithful, and
“ most obedient subjects and servants,

“ PERTH, Cancell.”

Its tyranni-
cal acts.

Nor was this spirit of loyalty, (as it was then called,) of abject slavery, and unmanly subservience to the will of a despot, as it has been justly denominated by the more impartial judgment of posterity, confined to words only. Acts were passed to ratify all the late judgments, however illegal or iniquitous, to indemnify the privy council, judges, and all

officers of the Crown, civil or military, for all the violences they had committed; to authorize the privy council to impose the test upon all ranks of people under such penalties as that board might think fit to impose; to extend the punishment of death, which had formerly attached upon the preachers at field conventicles only, to all their auditors, and likewise to the preachers at house conventicles; to subject to the penalties of treason, all persons who should give, or take the covenant, or write in defence thereof, or in any other way own it to be obligatory; and lastly, in a strain of tyranny, for which there was, it is believed, no precedent, and which certainly has never been surpassed, to enact, that all such persons as, being cited in cases of high treason, field or house conventicles, or church irregularities, should refuse to give testimony, should be liable to the punishment due by law to the criminals against whom they refused to be witnesses. It is true that an act was also passed, for confirming all former statutes in favour of the Protestant religion as then established, in their whole strength and tenour, as if they were particularly set down and expressed in the said act; but when we recollect the notions which Queensberry at that time entertained of the King's views, this proceeding forms no exception to the general

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system of servility which characterized both ministers and parliament. All matters in relation to revenue were of course settled in the manner most agreeable to his Majesty's wishes, and the recommendation of his Commissioner.

Cruelty of
Government.

While the legislature was doing its part, the executive government was not behind hand in pursuing the system which had been so much commended. A refusal to abjure the Declaration in the terms prescribed, was every where considered as sufficient cause for immediate execution. In one part of the country, information having been received, that a corpse had been clandestinely buried, an enquiry took place: it was dug up, and found to be that of a person proscribed. Those who had interred him, were suspected, not of having murdered, but of having harboured him. For this crime, their house was destroyed; and the women and children of the family being driven out to wander as vagabonds, a young man belonging to it was executed by the order of Johnston of Westerraw. Against this murder even Graham himself is said to have remonstrated, but was content with protesting, that the blood was not upon his head; and not being able to persuade a Highland officer to execute the order of Johnston, ordered his own men to shoot the unhappy victim.* In another

* Woodrow, II. 507.

county, three females, one of sixty-three years of age, one of eighteen, and one of twelve, were charged with rebellion; and refusing to abjure the Declaration, were sentenced to be drowned. The last was let off, upon condition of her father's giving a bond for a hundred pounds. The elderly woman, who is represented as a person of eminent piety, bore her fate with the greatest constancy, nor does it appear that her death excited any strong sensations in the minds of her savage executioners. The girl of eighteen was more pitied; and after many entreaties, and having been once under water, was prevailed upon to utter some words, which might be fairly construed into blessing the King, a mode of obtaining pardon not unfrequent in cases where the persecutors were inclined to relent. Upon this it was thought she was safe; but the merciless barbarian who superintended this dreadful business, was not satisfied; and upon her refusing the abjuration, she was again plunged into the water, where she expired.* It is to be remarked, that being at Bothwell-bridge and Air's-moss were among the crimes stated in the indictment of all the three, though, when the last of these affairs happened, one of the girls was only thirteen, and the other not eight years of age. At the time of the Bothwell-

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* Woodrow, II. 506.

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bridge business, they were still younger. To recite all the instances of cruelty which occurred, would be endless ; but it may be necessary to remark, that no historical facts are better ascertained than the accounts of them which are to be found in Woodrow. In every instance where there has been an opportunity of comparing these accounts with records, and other authentick monuments, they appear to be quite correct.

English Par-
liament.
May 15.

The Scottish Parliament having thus set, as they had been required to do, an eminent example of what was then thought duty to the Crown, the King met his English Parliament, on the 19th of May, 1685, and opened it with the following speech:

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ After it pleased Almighty God, to take to his
“ mercy the late King my dearest brother, and to
“ bring me to the peaceable possession of the Throne
“ of my ancestors, I immediately resolved to call a
“ Parliament, as the best means to settle every thing
“ upon those foundations, as may make my reign
“ both easy and happy to you ; towards which, I am
“ disposed to contribute all that is fit for me to do.

“ What I said to my Privy Council, at my first
“ coming there, I am desirous to renew to you ;

“ wherein I fully declare my opinion concerning the
 “ principles of the church of England, whose mem-
 “ bers have shewed themselves so eminently loyal
 “ in the worst of times, in defence of my father, and
 “ support of my brother, (of blessed memory,) that
 “ I will always take care to defend and support it.
 “ I will make it my endeavour to preserve this go-
 “ vernment, both in church and state, as it is by law
 “ established: And as I will never depart from the
 “ just rights and prerogatives of the Crown, so I will
 “ never invade any man’s property; and you may be
 “ sure, that having heretofore ventured my life in
 “ the defence of this nation, I will still go as far as
 “ any man in preserving it in all its just rights and
 “ liberties.

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“ And having given this assurance concerning the
 “ care I will have of your religion and property,
 “ which I have chose to do, in the same words which
 “ I used at my first coming to the Crown, the better
 “ to evidence to you, that I spoke them not by chance,
 “ and consequently, that you may firmly rely upon a
 “ promise so solemnly made, I cannot doubt that I
 “ shall fail of suitable returns from you, with all imagi-
 “ nable duty and kindness on your part, and particu-
 “ larly to what relates to the settling of my revenue;
 “ and continuing it, during my life, as it was in the

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“There is one popular argument, which, I foresee, may be used against what I ask of you, from the inclination men have for frequent parliaments; which some may think would be the best security, by feeding me, from time to time, by such proportions as they shall think convenient: And this argument, it being the first time I speak to you from the Throne, I will answer once for all, that this would be a very improper method to take with me; and that the best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well.

“I expect therefore, that you will comply with me in what I have desired, and that you will do it speedily; that this may be a short session, and that we may meet again to all our satisfactions.”

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“I must acquaint you, that I have had news this

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“ morning from Scotland, that Argyle is landed in
 “ the West Highlands, with the men he brought
 “ with him from Holland: That there are two De-
 “ clarations published; one in the name of all those
 “ in arms, the other in his own. It would be too
 “ long for me to repeat the substance of them; it is
 “ sufficient to tell you, I am charged with usurpation
 “ and tyranny. The shorter of them I have directed
 “ to be forthwith communicated to you.

“ I will take the best care I can, that this Decla-
 “ ration of their own faction and rebellion may meet
 “ with the reward it deserves: and I will not doubt
 “ but you will be the more zealous to support the
 “ government, and give me my revenue as I have
 “ desired it, without delay.”

The repetition of the words made use of in his first speech to the privy council, shews, that in the opinion of the Court at least, they had been well chosen, and had answered their purpose; and even the haughty language which was added, and was little less than a menace to parliament, if it should not comply with his wishes, was not, as it appears, displeasing to the party which at that time prevailed, since the revenue enjoyed by his predecessor, was unanimously, and almost immediately, voted to him

The King's
Speech ex-
amined.

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for life. It was not remarked, in publick at least, that the King's threat of governing without parliament, was an unequivocal manifestation of his contempt of the law of the country, so distinctly established, though so ineffectually secured, by the statute of the 16th of Charles the Second, for holding triennial parliaments. It is said, Lord Keeper Guildford had prepared a different speech for his Majesty, but that this was preferred, as being the King's own words;* and, indeed that part of it, in which he says that he must answer once for all, that the Commons' giving such proportions as they might think convenient, would be a very improper way with him, bears, as well as some others, the most evident marks of its royal origin. It is to be observed, however, that in arguing for his demand, as he styles it, of revenue, he says, not that the parliament ought not, but that *he* must not suffer the well-being of the government depending upon such revenue, to be precarious; whence it is evident, that he intended to have it understood, that, if the parliament did not grant, he purposed to levy a revenue without their consent. It is impossible that any degree of party spirit should so have blinded men, as to prevent them from perceiving, in this speech, a determination

* Life of Lord Keeper North. Ralph.

on the part of the King, to conduct his government upon the principles of absolute monarchy, and to those who were not so possessed with the love of royalty, which creates a kind of passionate affection for whoever happens to be the wearer of the Crown, the vindictive manner in which he speaks of Argyle's invasion, might afford sufficient evidence of the temper in which his power would be administered. In that part of his speech he first betrays his personal feelings towards the unfortunate nobleman, whom, in his brother's reign, he had so cruelly and treacherously oppressed, by dwelling upon his being charged by Argyle with tyranny and usurpation, and then declares, that he will take the best care, not according to the usual phrases, to protect the loyal and well disposed, and to restore tranquillity, but that the Declaration of the factious and rebellious may meet with the reward it deserves; thus marking out revenge and punishment as the consequences of victory, upon which he was most intent.

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It is impossible, that in a House of Commons, however composed, there should not have been many members who disapproved the principles of government announced in the speech, and who were justly alarmed at the temper in which it was conceived. But these, overpowered by numbers,

Proceedings
of Parlia-
ment.

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and perhaps afraid of the imputation of being concerned in plots and insurrections, (an imputation which, if they had shewn any spirit of liberty, would most infallibly have been thrown on them,) declined expressing their sentiments; and, in the short session which followed, there was an almost uninterrupted unanimity in granting every demand, and acquiescing in every wish of the Government. The revenue was granted, without any notice being taken of the illegal manner in which the King had levied it upon his own authority. Argyle was stigmatised as a traitour; nor was any desire expressed to examine his Declarations, one of which seemed to be purposely withheld from parliament. Upon the communication of the Duke of Monmouth's landing in the West, that nobleman was immediately attainted by bill. The King's assurance was recognized as a sufficient security for the national religion; and the liberty of the press was destroyed by the revival of the statute of the 13th and 14th of Charles the Second. This last circumstance, important as it is, does not seem to have excited much attention at the time, which, considering the general principles then in fashion, is not surprising. That it should have been scarcely noticed by any historian, is more wonderful. It is true, however, that the terroure inspired

by the late prosecutions for libels, and the violent conduct of the courts upon such occasions, rendered a formal destruction of the liberty of the press a matter of less importance. So little does the magistracy, when it is inclined to act tyrannically, stand in need of tyrannical laws to effect its purpose. The bare silence and acquiescence of the legislature is, in such a case, fully sufficient to annihilate, practically speaking, every right and liberty of the subject.

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s the grant of revenue was unanimous, so there does not appear to have been any thing which can justly be styled a debate upon it; though Hume employs several pages in giving the arguments which, he affirms, were actually made use of, and, as he gives us to understand, in the House of Commons, for and against the question; arguments which, on both sides, seem to imply a considerable love of freedom, and jealousy of royal power, and are not wholly unmixed even with some sentiments disrespectful to the King. Now I cannot find, either from tradition, or from contemporary writers, any ground to think, that, either the reasons which Hume has adduced, or indeed any other, were urged in opposition to the grant. The only speech made upon the occasion, seems to have been that of Mr. (afterwards Sir Edward,) Seymour, who, though of the Tory party, a strenuous opposer

Misrepresentation of Mr. Hume's.

Mr. Seymour's the only speech in opposition.

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of the Exclusion Bill, and in general, supposed to have been an approver, if not an adviser, of the tyrannical measures of the late reign, has the merit of having stood forward singly, to remind the House of what they owed to themselves and their constituents. He did not, however, directly oppose the grant, but stated, that the elections had been carried on under so much court influence, and in other respects so illegally, that it was the duty of the House first to ascertain, who were the legal members, before they proceeded to other business of importance. After having pressed this point, he observed, that, if ever it were necessary to adopt such an order of proceeding, it was more peculiarly so now, when the laws and religion of the nation were in evident peril; that the aversion of the English people to Popery, and their attachment to the laws, were such, as to secure these blessings from destruction by any other instrumentality than that of parliament itself, which, however, might be easily accomplished, if there were once a parliament entirely dependant upon the persons who might harbour such designs; that it was already rumoured that the Test, and Habeas Corpus Acts, the two bulwarks of our religion and liberties, were to be repealed; that what he stated was so notorious as to need no proof. Having descanted with force

and ability upon these, and other topicks of a similar tendency, he urged his conclusion, that the question of royal revenue ought not to be the first business of the parliament.* Whether, as Burnet thinks, because he was too proud to make any previous communication of his intentions, or that the strain of his argument was judged to be too bold for the times, this speech, whatever secret approbation it might excite, did not receive from any quarter either applause or support. Under these circumstances it was not thought necessary to answer him, and the grant was voted unanimously, without further discussion.

As Barillon, in the relation of parliamentary proceedings, transmitted by him to his Court, in which he appears at this time to have been very exact, gives the same description of Seymour's speech and its effects, with Burnet, there can be little doubt but their account is correct. It will be found as well in this, as in many other instances, that an unfortunate inattention, on the part of the reverend historian, to forms, has made his veracity unjustly called in question. He speaks of Seymour's speech as if it had been a motion in the technical sense of the word, for enquiring into the elections, which had no

* Barillon's *Dispatches*, June 2d, and 4th, Appendix. Burnet, II. 322.

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effect. Now no traces remaining of such a motion, and, on the other hand, the elections having been at a subsequent period inquired into, Ralph almost pronounces the whole account to be erroneous; whereas the only mistake consists in giving the name of motion to a suggestion, upon the question of a grant. It is whimsical enough, that it should be from the account of the French ambassadour, that we are enabled to reconcile to the records, and to the forms of the English House of Commons, a relation made by a distinguished member of the English House of Lords. Sir John Reresby does indeed say, that among the gentlemen of the House of Commons whom he accidentally met, they in general seemed willing to settle a handsome revenue upon the King, and to give him money; but whether their grant should be permanent, or only temporary, and to be renewed from time to time by parliament, that the nation might be often consulted, was the question.* But besides the looseness of the expression, which may only mean that the point was questionable, it is to be observed, that he does not relate any of the arguments which were brought forward even in the private conversations to which he refers; and when he afterwards gives an account of what passed in the

* Reresby's Memoirs, 192.

House of Commons, (where he was present,) he does not hint at any debate having taken place, but rather implies the contrary.

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This misrepresentation of Mr. Hume's is of no small importance, inasmuch as, by intimating that such a question could be debated at all, and much more, that it was debated with the enlightened views, and bold topicks of argument with which his genius has supplied him, he gives us a very false notion of the character of the parliament, and of the times which he is describing. It is not improbable, that if the arguments had been used, which this historian supposes, the utterer of them would have been expelled, or sent to the Tower; and it is certain, that he would not have been heard with any degree of attention, or even patience.

The unanimous vote for trusting the safety of religion to the King's Declaration, passed not without observation; the rights of the church of England being the only point upon which, at this time, the parliament were in any degree jealous of the royal power. The committee of religion had voted unanimously, "That it is the opinion of the committee, "that this House will stand by his Majesty with "their lives and fortunes, according to their bounden "duty and allegiance, in defence of the reformed

Votes concerning Religion.

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“ Church of England, as it is now by law established ; and that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to desire him to issue forth his Royal Proclamation, to cause the penal laws to be put in execution against all dissenters from the Church of England whatsoever.” But upon the report of the House, the question of agreeing with the committee was evaded by a previous question, and the House, with equal unanimity, resolved, “ That this House doth acquiesce, and entirely rely, and rest wholly satisfied, on his Majesty’s gracious word, and repeated declaration to support and defend the religion of the Church of England, as it is now by law established, which is dearer to us than our lives.” Mr. Echard, and Bishop Kennet, two writers of different principles, but both churchmen, assign, as the motive of this vote, the unwillingness of the party then prevalent in parliament, to adopt severe measures against the Protestant dissenters ; but in this notion they are by no means supported by the account, imperfect as it is, which Sir John Reresby gives of the debate ; for he makes no mention of tenderness towards dissenters, but states, as the chief argument against agreeing with the committee, that it might excite a jealousy of the King ;*

* Echard. Kennet, 441. Reresby, 198.

and Barillon expressly says, that the first vote gave great offence to the King, still more to the Queen, and that orders were, in consequence, issued to the court members of the House of Commons, to devise some means to get rid of it.* Indeed, the general circumstances of the times are decisive against the hypothesis of the two reverend historians; nor is it, as far as I know, adopted by any other historians. The probability seems to be, that the motion in the committee had been originally suggested by some Whig member, who could not, with prudence, speak his real sentiments openly, and who thought to embarrass the government, by touching upon a matter, where the union between the church party and the King, would be put to the severest test. The zeal of the Tories for persecution, made them at first give into the snare; but when, upon reflection, it occurred, that the involving of the Catholics in one common danger with the Protestant dissenters, must be displeasing to the King, they drew back without delay, and passed the most comprehensive vote of confidence, which James could desire.†

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* Vide Barillon's letter, Appendix.

† A most curious instance of the circuitous mode, and deep devices to which the Whigs, if they wished at this time to oppose the Court,

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Bill for the
Preservation
of the King's
Person.

Further to manifest their servility to the King, as well as their hostility to every principle, that could by implication be supposed to be connected with Monmouth or his cause, the House of Commons passed a Bill for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person, in which, after enacting that a written or verbal declaration of a treasonable intention, should be tantamount to a treasonable act, they inserted two remarkable clauses, by one of which, to assert *the legitimacy of Monmouth's birth*—by the other, *to propose in parliament any alteration in the succession of the Crown*, were made likewise high treason. We learn from Burnet,* that the first part of this bill was strenuously

were obliged to resort, is a scheme which seems to have been seriously entertained by them, of moving to disqualify from office all persons who had voted for the exclusion. Disqualification from offices, which they had no means of obtaining, was to them of no importance, and by obliging the King to remove Godolphin, and more especially Sunderland, they might put the Court to considerable difficulties. Vide Appendix.

* Ralph unjustly accuses Burnet of inaccuracy on this occasion, and asserts, "That unfortunately for us, or this Right Reverend author, there is not the least trace of any such bill to be found in any of the accounts of this parliament extant; and therefore we are under a necessity to suppose, that if any such clause was offered, it was by way of supplement to the bill for the preservation of his Majesty's person and government, which, no doubt, was strict enough, and which passed the House of Commons while Monmouth was in arms, just before the adjournment, but never reached the Lords." II. 911. Now the enactment to which the Bishop alludes, was not, as Ralph

and warmly debated, and that it was chiefly opposed by Sergeant Maynard, whose arguments made some impression even at that time; but whether the Sergeant was supported in his opposition, as the word *chiefly* would lead us to imagine, or if supported, by whom, that historian does not mention; and unfortunately, neither of Maynard's speech itself, nor indeed of any opposition whatever to the bill, is there any other trace to be found. The crying injustice of the clause, which subjected a man to the pains of treason, merely for delivering his opinion upon a controverted fact, though he should do no act in consequence of such opinion, was not, as far as we are informed, objected to, or at all noticed, unless indeed the speech above alluded to, in which the

supposes, a supplement to the bill for the preservation of his Majesty's person, but made part of the very first clause of it; and the only inaccuracy, if indeed it deserves that name, of which Burnet is guilty, is that of calling the bill what it really was, a bill for Declaring Treasons, and not giving it its formal title of a Bill for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person, &c. The bill is fortunately preserved among the papers of the House of Commons, and as it is not, as far as I know, any where in print, I have subjoined it in my Appendix. Perhaps some persons might think it more discreet, to leave such a production in obscurity, lest it should ever be made use of as a precedent; but whoever peruses with attention some of our modern statutes, will perceive, that though not adduced as a precedent, on account, perhaps, of the inauspicious reign in which it made its appearance, it has but too often been used as a model.

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Speaker is said to have descanted upon the general danger of making words treasonable, be supposed to have been applied to this clause, as well as to the former part of the bill. That the other clause should have passed without opposition, or even observation, must appear still more extraordinary, when we advert, not only to the nature of the clause itself, but to the circumstances of there being actually in the House, no inconsiderable number of members who had, in the former reign, repeatedly voted for the Exclusion Bill.

Solicitude for
the church of
England.

It is worthy of notice, however, that, while every principle of criminal jurisprudence, and every regard to the fundamental rights of the deliberative assemblies, which make part of the legislature of the nation, were thus shamelessly sacrificed to the eagerness which, at this disgraceful period, so generally prevailed, of manifesting loyalty, or rather abject servility to the Sovereign, there still remained no small degree of tenderness for the interests and safety of the church of England, and a sentiment approaching to jealousy upon any matter which might endanger, even by the most remote consequences, or put any restriction upon her ministers. With this view, as one part of the bill did not relate to treasons only, but imposed new penalties upon such as should by writing,

printing, preaching, or other speaking, attempt to bring the King or his government into hatred or contempt, there was a special proviso added, “ that
 “ the asserting, and maintaining by any writing,
 “ printing, preaching, or any other speaking, the
 “ doctrine, discipline, divine worship, or govern-
 “ ment of the church of England as it is now by law
 “ established, against Popery or any other different
 “ or dissenting opinions, is not intended, and shall
 “ not be interpreted, or construed to be any offence
 “ within the words or meaning of this act.”* It cannot escape the reader, that only such attacks upon Popery as were made in favour of the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and no other, were protected by this proviso, and consequently that, if there were any real occasion for such a guard, all Protestant dissenters who should write or speak against the Roman superstition, were wholly unprotected by it, and remained exposed to the danger, whatever it might be, from which the church was so anxious to exempt her supporters.

This Bill passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the House of Lords on the 30th of June. It was read a first time on that day, but the adjournment of both houses taking place on the 2d of July,

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1685.

The Bill
never passed.

* Vide Bill for the Preservation, &c. Appendix.

CHAPTER II. it could not make any further progress at that time ;
 1685. and when the parliament met afterwards in autumn, there was no longer that passionate affection for the monarch, nor consequently that ardent zeal for servitude, which were necessary to make a law with such clauses and provisos, palatable or even endurable.

It is not to be considered as an exception to the general complaisance of Parliament, that the Speaker, when he presented the Revenue Bill, made use of some strong expressions, declaring the attachment of the Commons to the national religion.* Such sentiments could not be supposed to be displeasing to James, after the assurances he had given of his regard for the church of England. Upon this occasion his Majesty made the following speech:

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

Speech on
 passing the
 Revenue Bill.

“ I thank you very heartily for the bill you have presented me this day; and I assure you, the readiness and cheerfulness that has attended the dispatch of it, is as acceptable to me as the bill itself.

* “ The Commons of England have here presented your Majesty with the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage, with all readiness and cheerfulness; and that without any security for their religion, though it be dearer to them than their lives, relying wholly on your royal word for the security of it; and humbly beseech your Majesty to accept this their offer,” &c. Kennet, II. 427.

“ After so happy a beginning, you may believe I
 “ would not call upon you unnecessarily for an ex-
 “ traordinary supply: but when I tell you, that the
 “ stores of the navy and ordnance are extremely
 “ exhausted; that the anticipations upon several
 “ branches of the revenue are great and burthensome;
 “ that the debts of the King my brother, to his ser-
 “ vants and family, are such as deserve compassion;
 “ that the rebellion in Scotland, without putting
 “ more weight upon it than it really deserves, must
 “ oblige me to a considerable expense extraordi-
 “ nary: I am sure, such considerations will move
 “ you to give me an aid to provide for those things,
 “ wherein the security, the ease, and the happiness
 “ of my government are so much concerned. But
 “ above all, I must recommend to you the care of
 “ the Navy, the strength and glory of this nation;
 “ that you will put it into such a condition, as may
 “ make us considered and respected abroad. I can-
 “ not express my concern, upon this occasion, more
 “ suitable to my own thoughts of it, than by assur-
 “ ing you, I have a true English heart, as jealous of
 “ the honour of the nation as you can be; and I
 “ please myself with the hopes, that, by God’s bless-
 “ ing, and your assistance, I may carry the reputa-
 “ tion of it yet higher in the world, than ever it has

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“ been in the time of any of my ancestors ; and as I
 “ will not call upon you for supplies, but when they
 “ are of publick use and advantage ; so I promise
 “ you, that what you give me upon such occasions,
 “ shall be managed with good husbandry ; and I will
 “ take care, it shall be employed to the uses for
 “ which I ask them.”

Misrepre-
sented by his-
terians.

Rapin, Hume, and Ralph, observe upon this speech, that neither the generosity of the Commons' grant, nor the confidence they expressed upon religious matters, could extort a kind word in favour of their religion. But this observation, whether meant as a reproach to him for his want of gracious feeling to a generous Parliament, or as an oblique compliment to his sincerity, has no force in it. His Majesty's speech was spoken immediately upon passing the bills which the Speaker presented, and he could not therefore take notice of the Speaker's words, unless he had spoken extempore ; for the custom is not, nor I believe ever was, for the Speaker to give, beforehand, copies of addresses of this nature. James would not certainly have scrupled to repeat the assurances which he had so lately made in favour of the Protestant religion, as he did not scruple to talk of his true English heart, honour of the nation, &c.

at a time when he was engaged with France; but the speech was prepared for an answer to a money bill, not for a question of the Protestant religion and church, and the false professions in it are adapted to what was supposed to be the only subject of it.

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The only matter in which the King's views were in any degree thwarted, was the reversal of Lord Stafford's attainder, which, having passed the House of Lords, not without opposition, was lost in the House of Commons; a strong proof that the Popish plot was still the subject upon which the opposers of the Court had most credit with the publick. Mr. Hume, notwithstanding his just indignation at the condemnation of Stafford, and his general inclination to approve of royal politicks, most unaccountably justifies the Commons in their rejection of this bill, upon the principle of its being impolitick at that time to grant so full a justification of the Catholicks, and to throw so foul an imputation upon the Protestants. Surely if there be one moral duty that is binding upon men in all times, places, and circumstances, and from which no supposed views of policy can excuse them, it is that of granting a full justification to the innocent; and such Mr. Hume considers the Catholicks, and especially Lord Stafford, to have been. The only rational way of

Reversal of
Stafford's at-
tainer re-
jected.

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accounting for this solitary instance of non-compliance on the part of the Commons, is either to suppose that they still believed in the reality of the Popish plot, and Stafford's guilt, or that the church party, which was uppermost, had such an antipathy to Popery, as indeed to every sect, whose tenets differed from theirs, that they deemed every thing lawful against its professors.

Parliament
adjourned.

On the 2d of July, Parliament was adjourned for the purpose of enabling the principal gentlemen to be present in their respective counties, at a time when their services and influence might be so necessary to government. It is said that the House of Commons consisted of members so devoted to James, that he declared there were not forty in it, whom he would not himself have named. But although this may have been true, and though from the new-modelling of the corporations, and the interference of the court in elections, this Parliament, as far as regards the manner of its being chosen, was by no means a fair representative of the legal electors of England, yet there is reason to think that it afforded a tolerably correct sample of the disposition of the nation, and especially of the church party, which was then uppermost.

The general character of the party at this time,

appears to have been a high notion of the King's constitutional power, to which was superadded, a kind of religious abhorrence of all resistance to the Monarch, not only in cases where such resistance was directed against the lawful prerogative, but even in opposition to encroachments, which the Monarch might make beyond the extended limits which they assigned to his prerogative. But these tenets, and still more, the principle of conduct naturally resulting from them, were confined to the civil, as contradistinguished from the ecclesiastical, polity of the country. In church matters, they neither acknowledged any very high authority in the Crown, nor were they willing to submit to any royal encroachment on that side; and a steady attachment to the church of England, with a proportionable aversion to all dissenters from it, whether Catholick or Protestant, was almost universally prevalent among them. A due consideration of these distinct features in the character of a party so powerful in Charles's and in James's time, and even when it was lowest, (that is, during the reigns of the two first Princes of the House of Brunswick,) by no means inconsiderable, is exceedingly necessary to the right understanding of English History. It affords a clue to many passages otherwise unintelligible. For want

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of a proper attention to this circumstance, some historians have considered the conduct of the Tories in promoting the Revolution, as an instance of great inconsistency. Some have supposed, contrary to the clearest evidence, that their notions of passive obedience, even in civil matters, were limited, and that their support of the government of Charles and James, was founded upon a belief, that those Princes would never abuse their prerogative for the purpose of introducing arbitrary sway. But this hypothesis is contrary to the evidence both of their declarations and their conduct. Obedience without reserve, an abhorrence of all resistance, as contrary to the tenets of their religion, are the principles which they professed in their addresses, their sermons, and their decrees at Oxford; and surely nothing short of such principles, could make men esteem the latter years of Charles the Second, and the opening of the reign of his successor, an era of national happiness, and exemplary government. Yet this is the representation of that period, which is usually made by historians, and other writers of the church party. "Never
" were fairer promises on one side, nor greater generosity on the other," says Mr. Echard. "The King
" had as yet, in no instance, invaded the rights of his
" subjects," says the author of the Caveat against the

Whigs. Thus, as long as James contented himself with absolute power in civil matters, and did not make use of his authority against the church, every thing went smooth and easy; nor is it necessary, in order to account for the satisfaction of the parliament and people, to have recourse to any implied compromise, by which the nation was willing to yield its civil liberties as the price of retaining its religious constitution. The truth seems to be, that the King, in asserting his unlimited power, rather fell in with the humour of the prevailing party, than offered any violence to it. Absolute power in civil matters, under the specious names of monarchy and prerogative, formed a most essential part of the Tory creed; but the order in which Church and King are placed in the favourite device of the party, is not accidental, and is well calculated to shew the genuine principles of such among them as are not corrupted by influence. Accordingly, as the sequel of this reign will abundantly shew, when they found themselves compelled to make an option, they preferred, without any degree of inconsistency, their first idol to their second, and when they could not preserve both Church and King, declared for the former.

It gives certainly no very flattering picture of the country, to describe it as being in some sense fairly

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the Whigs.

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represented by this servile Parliament, and not only acquiescing in, but delighted with, the early measures of James's reign; the contempt of law exhibited in the arbitrary mode of raising his revenue; his insulting menace to the Parliament, that if they did not use him well, he would govern without them; his furious persecution of the Protestant dissenters, and the spirit of despotism which appeared in all his speeches and actions. But it is to be remembered, that these measures were in no wise contrary to the principles or prejudices of the church party, but rather highly agreeable to them; and that the Whigs, who alone were possessed of any just notions of liberty, were so out-numbered, and discomfited by persecution, that such of them as did not think fit to engage in the rash schemes of Monmouth or Argyle, held it to be their interest to interfere as little as possible in publick affairs, and by no means to obtrude upon unwilling hearers, opinions and sentiments, which, ever since the dissolution of the Oxford parliament in 1681, had been generally discountenanced, and of which the peaceable, or rather triumphant accession of James to the throne, was supposed to seal the condemnation.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

C O N T E N T S.

- “ Attempts of Argyle and Monmouth.—Account of their followers.—
“ Argyle’s Expedition discovered.—His descent in Argyleshire.—
“ Dissensions among his followers.—Loss of his shipping.—His
“ army dispersed, and himself taken prisoner.—His behaviour in
“ prison.—His execution.—The fate of his followers.—Rumbold’s
“ last Declaration examined.—Monmouth’s Invasion of England.—
“ His first success and reception.—His delays, disappointment, and
“ despondency. — Battle of Sedgemore. — He is discovered and
“ taken.—His Letter to the King.—His interview with James.—His
“ preparations for death.—Circumstances attending his execution.—
“ His Character.” E.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

IT is now necessary to give some account of those attempts in Scotland by the Earl of Argyle, and in England by the Duke of Monmouth, of which the King had informed his Parliament in the manner recited in the preceding Chapter. The Earl of Argyle was son to the Marquis of Argyle, of whose unjust execution, and the treacherous circumstances accompanying it, notice has already been taken. He had, in his youth, been strongly attached to the royal cause, and had refused to lay down his arms, till he had the exiled King's positive orders for that purpose. But the merit of his early services could neither save the life of his father, nor even procure for himself a complete restitution of his family honours and estates; and not long after the Restoration, upon an accusation of Leasing-Making, an accusation founded, in this instance, upon a private letter to a

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fellow-subject, in which he spoke with some freedom of his Majesty's Scottish ministry, he was condemned to death. The sentence was suspended, and finally remitted; but not till after an imprisonment of twelve months and upwards. In this affair he was much assisted by the friendship of the Duke of Lauderdale, with whom he ever afterwards lived upon terms of friendship, though his principles would not permit him to give active assistance to that nobleman in his government of Scotland. Accordingly, we do not, during that period, find Argyle's name among those who held any of those great employments of state, to which, by his rank and consequence, he was naturally entitled. When James, then Duke of York, was appointed to the Scotch government, it seems to have been the Earl's intention to cultivate his Royal Highness' favour, and he was a strenuous supporter of the Bill which condemned all attempts at exclusions, or other alterations in the succession of the crown. But having highly offended that Prince, by insisting on the occasion of the Test, that the Royal Family, when in office, should not be exempted from taking that oath which they imposed upon subjects in like situations, his Royal Highness ordered a prosecution against him, for the explanation with which he had taken the Test oath at the council

board, and the Earl was, as we have seen, again condemned to death. From the time of his escape from prison, he resided wholly in foreign countries, and was looked to as a principal ally by such of the English patriots as had at any time entertained thoughts, whether more or less ripened, of delivering their country.

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James Duke of Monmouth was the eldest of the late King's natural children. In the early parts of his life, he held the first place in his father's affections; and even in the height of Charles's displeasure at his political conduct, attentive observers thought they could discern, that the traces of paternal tenderness were by no means effaced. Appearing at Court in the bloom of youth, with a beautiful figure, and engaging manners, known to be the darling of the Monarch, it is no wonder that he was early assailed by the arts of flattery; and it is rather a proof that he had not the strongest of all minds, than of any extraordinary weakness of character, that he was not proof against them. He had appeared with some distinction in the Flemish campaigns; and his conduct had been noticed with the approbation of the commanders, as well Dutch as French, under whom he had respectively served. His courage was allowed by all, his person admired, his generosity loved, his sincerity confided in. If his talents were not of the

Duke of
Monmouth.

His cha-
racter,

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and ambi-
tion.His private
motives.

first rate, they were by no means contemptible; and he possessed, in an eminent degree, qualities which, in popular government, are far more effective than the most splendid talents; qualities by which he inspired those who followed him, not only with confidence and esteem, but with affection, enthusiasm, and even fondness. Thus endowed, it is not surprising that his youthful mind was fired with ambition, or that he should consider the putting himself at the head of a party, (a situation for which he seems to have been peculiarly qualified by so many advantages,) as the means by which he was most likely to attain his object.

Many circumstances contributed to outweigh the scruples which must have harrassed a man of his excellent nature, when he considered the obligations of filial duty and gratitude, and when he reflected, that the particular relation in which he stood to the King rendered a conduct, which in any other subject would have been meritorious, doubtful, if not extremely culpable in him. Among these, not the least was the declared enmity which subsisted between him and his uncle, the Duke of York. The Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Buckinghamshire, boasted in his Memoirs, that this enmity was originally owing to his contrivances; and while he

is relating a conduct, upon which the only doubt can be, whether the object or the means were the most infamous, seems to applaud himself, as if he had atchieved some notable exploit. While, on the one hand, a prospect of his uncle's succession to the crown was intolerable to him, as involving in it a certain destruction of even the most reasonable and limited views of ambition which he might entertain, he was easily led to believe on the other hand, that no harm, but the reverse, was intended towards his royal father, whose reign and life might become precarious, if he obstinately persevered in supporting his brother; whereas, on the contrary, if he could be persuaded, or even forced, to yield to the wishes of his subjects, he might long reign a powerful, happy, and popular Prince.

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It is also reasonable to believe, that with those personal and private motives, others might co-operate of a publick nature, and of a more noble character. The Protestant religion, to which he seems to have been sincerely attached, would be persecuted, or perhaps, exterminated, if the King should be successful in his support of the Duke of York, and his faction. At least, such was the opinion generally prevalent, while, with respect to the civil liberties of the country, no doubt could be entertained, that if

Political motives of his
conduct.

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the Court party prevailed in the struggle then depending, they would be completely extinguished. Something may be attributed to his admiration of the talents of some, to his personal friendship for others, among the leaders of the Whigs, more to the aptitude of a generous nature to adopt, and, if I may so say, to become enamoured of, those principles of justice, benevolence, and equality, which form the true creed of the party which he espoused. I am not inclined to believe that it was his connection with Shaftesbury that inspired him with ambitious views, but rather to reverse cause and effect, and to suppose, that his ambitious views produced his connection with that nobleman; and whoever reads with attention Lord Grey's account of one of the party meetings at which he was present, will perceive that there was not between them that perfect cordiality which has been generally supposed, but that Russel, Grey, and Hampden, were upon a far more confidential footing with him. It is far easier to determine generally, that he had high schemes of ambition, than to discover what was his precise object; and those who boldly impute to him the intention of succeeding to the crown, seem to pass by several weighty arguments, which make strongly against their hypothesis; such as, his connection with the

Dutchess of Portsmouth, who, if the succession were to go to the King's illegitimate children, must naturally have been for her own son; his unqualified support of the Exclusion Bill, which, without indeed mentioning her, most unequivocally settled the Crown, in case of a demise, upon the Princess of Orange; and above all, the circumstance of his having, when driven from England, twice chosen Holland for his asylum. By his cousins he was received, not so much with the civility and decorum of Princes, as with the kind familiarity of near relations; a reception to which he seemed to make every return of reciprocal cordiality.* It is not rashly to be believed, that he, who has never been accused of hardened wickedness, could have been upon such terms with, and so have behaved to, persons whom he purposed to disappoint in their dearest and best grounded hopes, and to defraud of their inheritance.

Whatever his views might be, it is evident that they were of a nature wholly adverse, not only to those of the Duke of York, but to the schemes of power entertained by the King, with which the support of his brother was intimately connected. Monmouth was therefore, at the suggestion of James, ordered by his father to leave the country, and deprived of all

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His exile
from Eng-
land.

* D'Avaux,

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his offices, civil and military. The pretence for this exile was a sort of principle of impartiality, which obliged the King, at the same time that he ordered his brother to retire to Flanders, to deal equal measure to his son. Upon the Duke of York's return, (which was soon after,) Monmouth thought he might without blame return also; and persevering in his former measures, and old connections, became deeply involved in the cabals to which Essex, Russel, and Sidney fell martyrs. After the death of his friends he surrendered himself; and upon a promise, that nothing said by him should be used to the prejudice of any of his surviving friends, wrote a penitentiary letter to his father, consenting, at the same time, to ask pardon of his uncle. A great parade was made of this by the Court, as if it was designed by all means to goad the feelings of Monmouth: his Majesty was declared to have pardoned him at the request of the Duke of York, and his consent was required to the publication of what was called his Confession. This he resolutely refused at all hazards, and was again obliged to seek refuge abroad, where he had remained to the period of which we are now treating.

A change
expected be-
fore the late
King's death.

A little time before Charles's death, he had indulged hopes of being recalled, and that his intelli-

gence to that effect was not quite unfounded, or, if false, was at least mixed with truth, is clear from the following circumstance: From the notes found when he was taken, in his memorandum book, it appears that part of the plan concerted between the King and Monmouth's friend, (probably Halifax,) was that the Duke of York should go to Scotland,* between which, and his being sent abroad again, Monmouth and his friends saw no material difference. Now in Barillon's letters to his Court, dated the 7th of December, 1684, it appears that the Duke of York had told that ambassadour of his intended voyage to Scotland, though he represented it in a very different point of view, and said that it would not be attended with any diminution of his favour or credit.† This was the light in which Charles, to whom the expressions, "to blind my brother, not to make the Duke of York fly out," and the like, were familiar, would certainly have shewn the affair to his brother, and therefore of all the circumstances adduced, this appears to me to be the strongest in favour of the supposition, that there was in the King's mind, a real intention of making an important, if not a complete, change in his councils and measures.

Besides these two leaders, there were on the Con-

Exiles from
Scotland.

* Welwood's Memoirs.

† See Appendix, p. viii.

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Sir P. Hume.

continent at that time, several other gentlemen of great consideration. Sir Patrick Hume of Polworth had early distinguished himself in the cause of liberty.

When the privy council of Scotland passed an order, compelling the counties to pay the expence of the garrisons arbitrarily placed in them, he refused to pay his quota, and by a mode of appeal to the Court of Session, which the Scotch lawyers call a Bill of Suspension, endeavoured to procure redress. The council ordered him to be imprisoned, for no other crime, as it should seem, than that of having thus attempted to procure, by a legal process, a legal decision upon a point of law. After having remained in close confinement, in Stirling Castle, for near four years, he was set at liberty through the favour and interest of Monmouth. Having afterwards engaged in schemes connected with those imputed to Sidney and Russel, orders were issued for seizing him at his house in Berwickshire; but having had timely notice of his danger, from his relation, Hume of Ninewells, a gentleman attached to the royal cause,* but whom party spirit had not rendered insensible to the ties of kindred, and private friendship, he found means

* It is not without some satisfaction, that I learnt, upon enquiry, that this gentleman was the ancestor of Hume the historian, who, in similar circumstances, would most certainly have followed his grandfather's example.

to conceal himself for a time, and shortly after to escape beyond sea. His concealment is said to have been in the family burial-place, where the means of sustaining life were brought to him by his daughter, a girl of fifteen years of age, whose duty and affection furnished her with courage to brave the terrors, as well superstitious as real, to which she was necessarily exposed in an intercourse of this nature.*

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Andrew Fletcher of Salton, a young man of great spirit, had signalized himself in opposition to Lauderdale's administration of Scotland, and had afterwards connected himself with Argyle and Russel, and what was called the council of six. He had, of course, thought it prudent to leave Great Britain, and could not be supposed unwilling to join in any enterprize which might bid fair to restore him to his country, and his countrymen to their lost liberties, though, upon the present occasion, which he seems to have judged to be unfit for the purpose, he endeavoured to dissuade both Argyle and Monmouth from their attempts. He was a man of much thought and reading, of an honourable mind, and a fiery spirit, and from his enthusiastick admiration of the ancients, supposed to be warmly attached, not only to republican principles, but to the form of a

Fletcher of
Salton.

* MS. account of Sir P. Hume.

CHAPTER commonwealth. Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree
 III. had fled his country on account of the transactions
 of 1683. His property and connections were consi-
 derable, and he was supposed to possess extensive
 influence in Airshire and the adjacent counties.

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 Sir John
 Cochrane.

English
 exiles.

Lord Grey of
 Wark.

Such were the persons of chief note among the
 Scottish emigrants. Among the English, by far the
 most remarkable, was Ford, Lord Grey of Wark. A
 scandalous love intrigue, with his wife's sister, had
 fixed a very deep stain upon his private character;
 nor were the circumstances attending this affair,
 which had all been brought to light in a court of
 justice, by any means calculated to extenuate his
 guilt. His antient family, however, the extensive
 influence arising from his large possessions, his ta-
 lents, which appear to have been very considerable,
 and above all, his hitherto unshaken fidelity in poli-
 tical attachments, and the general steadiness of his
 conduct in publick life, might in some degree coun-
 tervail the odium which he had incurred on account
 of his private vices. Of Matthews, Wade, and
 Ayloff, whose names are mentioned, as having both
 joined the preliminary councils, and done actual
 service in the invasions, little is known by which
 curiosity could be either gratified or excited.

Rumbold.

Richard Rumbold, on every account, merits more

particular notice. He had formerly served in the republican armies; and adhering to the principles of liberty, which he had imbibed in his youth, though no wise bigotted to the particular form of a commonwealth, had been deeply engaged in the politicks of those who thought they saw an opportunity of rescuing their country from the tyrannical government of the late King. He was one of the persons denounced in Keyling's narrative, and was accused of having conspired to assassinate the royal brothers, in their road to Newmarket; an accusation belied by the whole tenour of his life and conduct, and which, if it had been true, would have proved him, who was never thought a weak or foolish man, to be as destitute of common sense, as of honour and probity. It was pretended, that the seizure of the Princes was to take place at a farm called Rye-house, which he occupied in Hertfordshire for the purposes of his trade as a maltster; and from this circumstance, was derived the name of the Rye-house plot. Conscious of having done some acts, which the law, if even fairly interpreted, and equitably administered, might deem criminal, and certain that many which he had not done, would be both sworn, and believed against him, he made his escape, and passed the remainder of Charles's reign in exile and obscurity; nor is his

CHAPTER III,
 1685. name, as far as I can learn, ever mentioned, from the time of the Rye-house plot to that of which we are now treating.

Other exiles. It is not to be understood that there were no other names upon the list of those who fled from the tyranny of the British government, or thought themselves unsafe in their native country, on account of its violence, besides those of the persons above mentioned, and of such as joined in their bold and hazardous enterprize. Another class of emigrants, not less sensible probably to the wrongs of their country, but less sanguine in their hopes of immediate redress, is ennobled by the names of Burnet the historian, and Mr. Locke. It is difficult to accede to the opinion, which the first of these seems to entertain, that though particular injustices had been committed, the misgovernment had not been of such a nature as to justify resistance by arms.* But the prudential reasons against resistance at that time were exceedingly strong; and there is no point in human concerns, wherein the dictates of virtue, and worldly prudence, are so identified, as in this great question of resistance by force to established government. Success, it has been invidiously remarked, constitutes, in most instances, the sole

Burnet and
 Lock's
 opinion.

* Burnet, II. 309.

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Observations
on resistance.

difference between the traitor and the deliverer of his country. A rational probability of success, it may be truly said, distinguishes the well considered enterprize of the patriot, from the rash schemes of the disturber of the publick peace. To command success, is not in the power of man; but to deserve success, by choosing a proper time, as well as a proper object, by the prudence of his means, no less than by the purity of his views, by a cause not only intrinsically just, but likely to ensure general support, is the indispensable duty of him, who engages in an insurrection against an existing government. Upon this subject, the opinion of Ludlow, who though often misled, appears to have been an honest and enlightened man, is striking and forcibly expressed. “We ought,” says he, “to be very careful “and circumspect in that particular, and at least be “assured of very probable grounds, to believe the “power under which we engage, to be sufficiently “able to protect us in our undertaking; otherwise, I should account myself not only guilty “of my own blood, but also, in some measure, of “the ruin and destruction of all those that I should “induce to engage with me, though the cause were “never so just.”* Reasons of this nature, mixed

Ludlow's opinion on resistance.

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 235.

CHAPTER more or less with considerations of personal caution,
 III. and in some, perhaps, with dislike and distrust of
 1685. the leaders, induced many, who could not but abhor
 the British government, to wait for better opportunities, and to prefer either submission at home, or exile, to an undertaking, which, if not hopeless, must have been deemed by all, hazardous in the extreme.

Monmouth's
 reluctance to
 attempt an
 invasion.

In the situations in which these two noblemen, Argyle and Monmouth, were placed, it is not to be wondered at, if they were naturally willing to enter into any plan, by which they might restore themselves to their country; nor can it be doubted, but they honestly conceived their success to be intimately connected with the welfare, and especially with the liberty, of the several kingdoms to which they respectively belonged. Monmouth, whether because he had begun at this time, as he himself said, to wean his mind from ambition,* or from the observations he had made upon the apparently rapid turn which had taken place in the minds of the English people, seems to have been very averse to rash counsels, and to have thought that all attempts against James, ought at least to be deferred till some more favourable opportunity should present itself. So far from esteeming his chance of success the

* Vide his letter in Wellwood's *Memoirs*, and in *Ralph*, I. 953.

better, on account of there being, in James's parliament, many members who had voted for the Exclusion Bill, he considered that circumstance as unfavourable. These men, of whom however he seems to have over-rated the number, would, in his opinion, be more eager than others, to recover the ground they had lost, by an extraordinary show of zeal and attachment to the Crown. But if Monmouth was inclined to dilatory counsels, far different were the views and designs of other exiles, who had been obliged to leave their country on account of their having engaged, if not with him personally, at least in the same cause with him, and who were naturally enough his advisers. Among these were Lord Grey of Wark and Ferguson; though the latter afterwards denied his having had much intercourse with the Duke, and the former, in his Narrative,* insinuates that he rather dissuaded than pressed the invasion.

But if Monmouth was inclined to delay, Argyle seems, on the other hand, to have been impatient in the extreme to bring matters to a crisis, and was, of course, anxious that the attempt upon England should

Impatience
of Argyle.

* It is however notorious that he did press Monmouth very much; and this circumstance, if any were wanting, would sufficiently prove that his Narrative is very little to be relied upon, in any point where he conceived the falsification of a fact might serve him with the King, upon whose mercy his life at that time depended.

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be made in co-operation with his upon Scotland. Ralph, an historian of great acuteness, as well as diligence, but who falls sometimes into the common error of judging too much from the event, seems to think this impatience wholly unaccountable; but Argyle may have had many motives, which are now unknown to us. He may not improbably have foreseen, that the friendly terms upon which James and the Prince of Orange affected at least to be, one with the other, might make his stay in the United Provinces impracticable, and that, if obliged to seek another asylum, not only he might have been deprived, in some measure, of the resources which he derived from his connections at Amsterdam, but that the very circumstance of his having been publicly discountenanced by the Prince of Orange and the States General, might discredit his enterprize. His eagerness for action may possibly have proceeded from the most laudable motives, his sensibility to the horrors which his countrymen were daily and hourly suffering, and his ardour to relieve them. The dreadful state of Scotland, while it affords so honourable an explanation of his impatience, seems to account also, in a great measure, for his acting against the common notions of prudence, in making his attack without any previous concert with those whom he expected

to join him there. That this was his view of the matter is plain, as we are informed by Burnet that he depended not only on an army of his own clan and vassals, but that he took it for granted, that the western and southern counties would all at once come about him, when he had gathered a good force together in his own country; and surely, such an expectation, when we reflect upon the situation of those counties, was by no means unreasonable.

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Argyle's counsel, backed by Lord Grey and the rest of Monmouth's advisers, and opposed by none except Fletcher of Salton, to whom some add Captain Matthews, prevailed, and it was agreed to invade immediately, and at one time, the two kingdoms. Monmouth had raised some money from his jewels, and Argyle had a loan of ten thousand pounds from a rich widow in Amsterdam. With these resources, such as they were, ships and arms were provided, and Argyle sailed from Vly on the second of May, with three small vessels, accompanied by Sir Patrick Hume, Sir John Cochrane, a few more Scotch gentlemen, and by two Englishmen, Ayloff, a nephew by marriage to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and Rumbold the malster, who had been accused of being principally concerned in that conspiracy which, from his farm in Hertfordshire, where it was pretended

Preparations
and plan of
invasion.

Argyle's ex-
pedition.
May 2.

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Charles the Second was to have been intercepted in his way from Newmarket, and assassinated, had been called the Rye-house plot.* Sir Patrick Hume is said to have advised the shortest passage, in order to come more unexpectedly upon the enemy; but Argyle, who is represented as remarkably tenacious of his own opinions, persisted in his plan of sailing round the north of Scotland, as well for the purpose of landing at once among his own vassals, as for that of being nearer to the western counties, which had been most severely oppressed, and from which, of course, he expected most assistance. Each of these plans had no doubt its peculiar advantages; but, as far as we can judge at this distance of time, those belonging to the Earl's scheme seem to preponderate; for the force he carried with him was certainly not sufficient to enable him, by striking any decisive stroke, to avail himself even of the most unprepared state in which he could hope to find the King's government. As he must therefore depend entirely upon reinforcements from the country, it seemed reasonable to make for that part where succour was

* The detailed account of the exiles from England and Scotland, from page 179 to 184, was inserted in the work by Mr. Fox, after this passage was written.—As it is there introduced, Mr. Fox would, no doubt, have erased the repetition of it; but it has been the object of the Editor to preserve scrupulously the words of the MS. E.

most likely to be obtained, even at the hazard of incurring the disadvantage which must evidently result from the enemy's having early notice of his attack, and consequently proportionable time for defence.

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Unfortunately, this hazard was converted into a certainty, by his sending some men on shore in the Orkneys. Two of these, Spence and Blackadder, were seized at Kirkwall by the bishop of the diocese, and sent up prisoners to Edinburgh, by which means the government was not only satisfied of the reality of the intended invasion, of which, however, they had before had some intimation,* but could guess with a reasonable certainty, the part of the coast where the descent was to take place; for Argyle could not possibly have sailed so far to the north with any other view, than that of making his landing either on his own estate, or in some of the western counties. Among the numberless charges of imprudence against the unfortunate Argyle, charges too often inconsiderately urged against him who fails in any enterprize of moment, that which is founded upon the circumstance just mentioned appears to me to be the most weighty, though it is that which is the least mentioned, and by no author, as far as I recollect, much enforced. If the landing in the north was merely for the purpose of gaining

Discovered
by his land-
ing in the
Orkneys.

* Vide Appendix, p. lxxviii. Barnet, II. 313. Woodrow, II. 513

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intelligence respecting the disposition of the country, or for the more frivolous object of making some few prisoners, it was indeed imprudent in the highest degree. That prisoners, such as were likely to be taken on this occasion, should have been a consideration with any man of common sense, is impossible. The desire of gaining intelligence concerning the disposition of the people, was indeed a natural curiosity; but it would be a strong instance of that impatience which has been often alledged, though in no other case proved, to have been part of the Earl's character, if, for the sake of gratifying such a desire, he gave the enemy any important advantage. Of the intelligence which he sought thus eagerly, it was evident that he could not in that place, and at that time, make any immediate use; whereas, of that which he afforded his enemies, they could, and did avail themselves against him. The most favourable account of this proceeding, and which seems to deserve most credit, is, that having missed the proper passage through the Orkney islands, he thought proper to send on shore for pilots, and that Spence very imprudently took the opportunity of going to confer with a relation at Kirkwall;* but it is to be remarked, that it was not necessary, for the purpose of getting pilots, to employ men of note, such as Blackadder

* Woodrow, II. 513.

and Spence, the latter of whom was the Earl's Secretary; and that it was an unpardonable neglect not to give the strictest injunctions to those who were employed, against going a step further into the country than was absolutely necessary.

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Argyle, with his wonted generosity of spirit, was at first determined to lay siege to Kirkwall, in order to recover his friends; but partly by the dissuasions of his followers, and still more by the objections made by the masters of the ships, to a delay which might make them lose the favourable winds for their intended voyage, he was induced to prosecute his course.* In the mean time the government made the use that it was obvious they would make, of the information they had obtained, and when the Earl arrived at his destination, he learned that considerable forces were got together to repel any attack that he might meditate. Being prevented by contrary winds from reaching the isle of Ilay, where he had purposed to make his first landing, he sailed back to Dunstafnage in Lorn, and there sent ashore his son, Mr. Charles Campbell, to engage his tenants, and other friends, and dependants of his family, to rise in his behalf; but even there he found less encouragement and assistance than he had expected, and

His descent
in Argyle-
shire.

* Woodrow, II. 531.

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the Laird of Lochniel, who gave him the best assurances, treacherously betrayed him, sent his letter to the Government, and joined the royal forces under the Marquis of Athol. He then proceeded southwards, and landed at Campbelltown in Kintyre, where his first step was to publish his Declaration, which appears to have produced little or no effect.

Difference of
opinion.

This bad beginning served, as is usual in such adventures, rather to widen than to reconcile the differences which had early begun to manifest themselves between the leader and his followers. Hume and Cochrane, partly construing perhaps too sanguinely the intelligence which was received from Airshire, Galloway, and the other Lowland districts in that quarter, partly from an expectation that where the oppression had been most grievous, the revolt would be proportionably the more general, were against any stay, or, as they termed it, loss of time in the Highlands, but were for proceeding at once, weak as they were in point of numbers, to a country where every man endowed with the common feelings of human nature, must be their wellwisher, every man of spirit their coadjutor. Argyle, on the contrary, who probably considered the discouraging accounts from the Lowlands as positive and distinct, while those which were deemed more favourable, ap-

peared to him to be at least uncertain and provisional, thought the most prudent plan was, to strengthen himself in his own country, before he attempted the invasion of provinces where the enemy was so well prepared to receive him. He had hopes of gaining time, not only to increase his own army, but to avail himself of the Duke of Monmouth's intended invasion of England, an event which must obviously have great influence upon his affairs, and which, if he could but maintain himself in a situation to profit by it, might be productive of advantages of an importance and extent of which no man could presume to calculate the limits. Of these two contrary opinions, it may be difficult at this time of day to appreciate the value, seeing that so much depends upon the degree of credit due to the different accounts from the Lowland counties, of which our imperfect information does not enable us to form any accurate judgment. But even though we should not decide absolutely in favour of the cogency of these reasonings which influenced the chief, it must surely be admitted, that there was at least sufficient probability in them, to account for his not immediately giving way to those of his followers, and to rescue his memory from the reproach of any uncommon obstinacy, or of carrying things, as Burnet phrases it,

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with an air of authority that was not easy to men who were setting up for liberty. On the other hand, it may be more difficult to exculpate the gentlemen engaged with Argyle, for not acquiescing more cheerfully, and not entering more cordially into the views of a man whom they had chosen for their leader and general; of whose honour they had no doubt, and whose opinion, even those who dissented from him, must confess to be formed upon no light or trivial grounds.

Dissensions
with his fol-
lowers.

The differences upon the general scheme of attack, led, of course, to others upon points of detail. Upon every projected expedition there appeared a contrariety of sentiment, which on some occasions produced the most violent disputes. The Earl was often thwarted in his plans, and in one instance actually over-ruled by the vote of a council of war. Nor were these divisions, which might of themselves be deemed sufficient to mar an enterprise of this nature, the only adverse circumstances which Argyle had to encounter. By the forward state of preparation on the part of the Government, its friends were emboldened; its enemies, whose spirit had been already broken by a long series of sufferings, were completely intimidated, and men of sickle and time-serving dispositions, were fixed in its interests.

Add to all this, that where spirit was not wanting, it was accompanied with a degree and species of perversity wholly inexplicable, and which can hardly gain belief from any one, whose experience has not made him acquainted with the extreme difficulty of persuading men, who pride themselves upon an extravagant love of liberty, rather to compromise upon some points with those who have, in the main, the same views with themselves, than to give power, (a power which will infallibly be used for their own destruction,) to an adversary of principles diametrically opposite; in other words, rather to concede something to a friend, than every thing to an enemy. Hence, those even, whose situation was the most desperate, who were either wandering about the fields, or seeking refuge in rocks and caverns, from the authorized assassins who were on every side pursuing them, did not all join in Argyle's cause with that frankness and cordiality which was to be expected. The various schisms which had existed among different classes of Presbyterians, were still fresh in their memory. Not even the persecution to which they had been in common, and almost indiscriminately subjected, had reunited them. According to a most expressive phrase of an eminent minister of their church, who sincerely lamented

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their disunion. The furnace had not yet healed the rents and breaches among them.* Some doubted whether, short of establishing all the doctrines preached by Cargill and Cameron, there was any thing worth contending for ; while others, still further gone in enthusiasm, set no value upon liberty, or even life itself, if they were to be preserved by the means of a nobleman, who had, as well by his services to Charles the Second, as by other instances, been guilty, in the former parts of his conduct, of what they termed unlawful compliances.

His plan
over-ruled.

Perplexed, no doubt, but not dismayed, by these difficulties, the Earl proceeded to Tarbet, which he had fixed as the place of rendezvous, and there issued a second Declaration, (that which has been mentioned as having been laid before the House of Commons,) with as little effect as the first. He was joined by Sir Duncan Campbell, who alone, of all his kinsmen, seems to have afforded him any material assistance, and who brought with him nearly a thousand men ; but even with this important reinforcement his whole army does not appear to have exceeded two thousand. It was here that he was over-ruled by a council of war, when he proposed marching to Inverary ; and after much debate, so far was he from being so self-willed as he is represented, that he

* Woodrow, II 530.

consented to go over with his army to that part of Argyleshire called Cowal, and that Sir John Cochrane should make an attempt upon the Lowlands; and he sent with him Major Fullarton, one of the officers in whom he most trusted, and who appears to have best deserved his confidence. This expedition could not land in Airshire, where it had at first been intended, owing to the appearance of two king's frigates, which had been sent into those seas; and when it did land near Greenoch, no other advantage was derived from it, than the procuring from the town a very small supply of provisions.*

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When Cochrane, with his detachment, returned to Cowal, all hopes of success in the Lowlands seemed, for the present at least, to be at an end, and Argyle's original plan was now necessarily adopted, though under circumstances greatly disadvantageous. Among these the most important was, the approach of the frigates, which obliged the Earl to place his ships under the protection of the castle of Ellengreg, which he fortified and garrisoned, as well as his contracted means would permit. Yet even in this situation, deprived of the co-operation of his little fleet, as well as of that part of his force which he left to defend it, being well seconded by the spirit and

Loss of his
shipping.

* Woodrow.

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activity of Rumbold, who had seized the castle of Ardkinglass near the head of Loch Fine, he was not without hopes of success in his main enterprize against Inverary, when he was called back to Ellengreg, by intelligence of fresh discontents having broken out there, upon the nearer approach of the frigates. Some of the most dissatisfied had even threatened to leave both castle and ships to their fate; nor did the appearance of the Earl himself by any means bring with it that degree of authority which was requisite in such a juncture. His first motion was to disregard the superior force of the men of war, and to engage them with his small fleet; but he soon discovered that he was far indeed from being furnished with the materials necessary to put in execution so bold, or as it may possibly be thought, so romantick a resolution. His associates remonstrated, and a mutiny in his ships was predicted as a certain consequence of the attempt. Leaving therefore, once more, Ellengreg with a garrison under the command of the Laird of Lopness, and strict orders to destroy both ships and fortification, rather than suffer them to fall into the hands of the enemy, he marched towards Gareloch. But whether from the inadequacy of the provisions with which he was able to supply it, or from cowardice,

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misconduct, or treachery, it does not appear, the castle was soon evacuated without any proper measures being taken to execute the Earl's orders, and the military stores in it to a considerable amount; as well as the ships which had no other defence, were abandoned to the King's forces.

His army
dispersed.

This was a severe blow; and all hopes of acting according to the Earl's plan of establishing himself strongly in Argyleshire, were now extinguished. He therefore consented to pass the Leven, a little above Dumbarton, and to march eastwards. In this march he was overtaken, at a place called Killerne, by Lord Dumbarton at the head of a large body of the King's troops; but he posted himself with so much skill and judgment, that Dumbarton thought it prudent to wait at least, till the ensuing morning, before he made his attack. Here again Argyle was for risking an engagement, and in his nearly desperate situation, it was probably his best chance, but his advice, (for his repeated misfortunes had scarcely left him the shadow of command,) was rejected.* On the other hand, a proposal was made to him, the most absurd as it should seem, that was ever suggested in similar circumstances, to pass the enemy in the night, and thus exposing his rear, to subject himself

* Lord Fountainhall's Memoirs, MS. Woodrow, 536.

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to the danger of being surrounded, for the sake of advancing he knew not whither, or for what purpose. To this he could not consent; and it was at last agreed to deceive the enemies by lighting fires, and to decamp in the night towards Glasgow. The first part of this plan was executed with success, and the army went off unperceived by the enemy; but in their night march, they were misled by the ignorance, or the treachery of their guides, and fell into difficulties which would have caused some disorder among the most regular and best disciplined troops. In this case such disorder was fatal, and produced, as among men circumstanced as Argyle's were, it necessarily must, an almost general dispersion. Wandering among bogs and morasses, disheartened by fatigue, terrified by rumours of an approaching enemy, the darkness of the night aggravating at once every real distress, and adding terrour to every vain alarm; in this situation, when even the bravest and the best, (for according to one account Rumbold himself was missing for a time,) were not able to find their leaders, nor the corps to which they respectively belonged; it is no wonder that many took this opportunity to abandon a cause now become desperate, and to effect individually that escape which, as a body, they had no longer any hopes to accomplish.*

* Woodrow, II. 535, 536.

When the small remains of this ill-fated army got together, in the morning, at Kilpatrick, a place far distant from their destination, its number was reduced to less than five hundred. Argyle had lost all authority; nor indeed, had he retained any, does it appear that he could now have used it to any salutary purpose. The same bias which had influenced the two parties in the time of better hopes, and with regard to their early operations, still prevailed, now that they were driven to their last extremity. Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane would not stay even to reason the matter with him whom, at the onset of their expedition, they had engaged to obey, but crossed the Clyde, with such as would follow them, to the number of about two hundred, into Renfrewshire.*

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Argyle, thus deserted, and almost alone, still looked to his own country as the sole remaining hope, and sent off Sir Duncan Campbell, with the two Duncansons, father and son, persons all three, by whom he seemed to have been served with the most exemplary zeal and fidelity, to attempt new levies there. Having done this, and settled such means of correspondence as the state of affairs would permit, he repaired to the house of an old servant, upon whose

Argyle taken
prisoner.

* Woodrow, 535.

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attachment he had relied for an asylum, but was peremptorily denied entrance. Concealment in this part of the country seemed now impracticable, and he was forced at last to pass the Clyde, accompanied by the brave and faithful Fullarton. Upon coming to a ford of the Inchanon, they were stopped by some militia men. Fullarton used in vain, all the best means which his presence of mind suggested to him, to save his General. He attempted one while by gentle, and then by harsher language, to detain the commander of the party till the Earl, who was habited as a common countryman, and whom he passed for his guide, should have made his escape. At last, when he saw them determined to go after his pretended guide, he offered to surrender himself without a blow, upon condition of their desisting from their pursuit. This agreement was accepted, but not adhered to, and two horsemen were detached to seize Argyle. The Earl, who was also on horseback, grappled with them, till one of them and himself came to the ground. He then presented his pocket pistols, on which the two retired; but soon after five more came up, who fired without effect, and he thought himself like to get rid of them, but they knocked him down with their swords, and seized him. When they knew whom they had taken,

they seemed much troubled, but dared not let him go.* Fullarton, perceiving that the stipulation on which he had surrendered himself was violated, and determined to defend himself to the last, or at least to wreak, before he fell, his just vengeance upon his perfidious opponents, grasped at the sword of one of them, but in vain; he was overpowered, and made prisoner.†

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Argyle was immediately carried to Renfrew, thence to Glasgow, and on the 20th of June was led in triumph into Edinburgh. The order of the council was particular; that he should be led bare-headed, in the midst of Graham's guards, with their matches cocked, his hands tied behind his back, and preceded by the common hangman, in which situation, that he might be more exposed to the insults and taunts of the vulgar, it was directed that he should be carried

The indignities offered to him

* In my relation of the taking of Argyle's person, I have followed his own account, and mostly in his own words. As the authenticity of the paper written in prison, wherein he gives this account, has never been called in question, it seems strange that any historian should have adopted a different one. I take no notice of the story, by which he is made to exclaim in falling, "Unfortunate Argyle!" and thus to discover himself. Besides, that there is no authority for it, it has not the air of a real fact, but rather resembles a clumsy contrivance in some play, where the poet is put to his last shift, for means to produce a discovery necessary to his plot.

† Woodrow, 536, 537. †

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endured with
magnanimity.

to the Castle by a circuitous route.* To the equanimity with which he bore these indignities, as indeed to the manly spirit exhibited by him throughout, in these last scenes of his life, ample testimony is borne by all the historians who have treated of them, even those who are the least partial to him. He had frequent opportunities of conversing, and some of writing, during his imprisonment, and it is from such parts of these conversations and writings as have been preserved to us, that we can best form to ourselves a just notion of his deportment during that trying period; at the same time, a true representation of the temper of his mind, in such circumstances, will serve, in no small degree, to illustrate his general character and disposition.

His mildness
and resignation.

We have already seen how he expressed himself with regard to the men, who by taking him, became the immediate cause of his calamity.† He seems to feel a sort of gratitude to them, for the sorrow he saw, or fancied he saw in them, when they knew who he was, and immediately suggests an excuse for

* Woodrow, 538.

† “As soon as they knew what I was, they seemed to be much troubled, but durst not let me go.” Woodrow, 537. In another paper, he says, “Of the militia who wounded and took me, some wept, but durst not let me go.” Id. 538, Supra, 205. E.

them, by saying, that they did not dare to follow the impulse of their hearts. Speaking of the supineness of his countrymen, and of the little assistance he had received from them, he declares with his accustomed piety, his resignation to the will of God, which was that Scotland should not be delivered at this time, nor especially by his hand; and then exclaims, with the regret of a patriot, but with no bitterness of disappointment, “But alas! who is there to be delivered! There may,” says he, “be hidden ones, but there appears no great party in the country, who desire to be relieved.”* Justice, in some degree, but still more, that warm affection for his own kindred and vassals, which seems to have formed a marked feature in this nobleman’s character, then induces him to make an exception in favour of his poor friends in Argyleshire, in treating for whom, though in what particular way does not appear, he was employing, and with some hope of success, the few remaining hours of his life. In recounting the failure of his expedition, it is impossible for him not to touch upon what he deemed the misconduct of his friends; and this is the subject upon which, of all others, his temper must have been most irritable. A certain description of friends, (the words

* Woodrow, 538.

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describing them are omitted,) were all of them, without exception, his greatest enemies, both to betray and destroy him; and and (the names again omitted,) were the greatest cause of his rout, and his being taken, though not designedly he acknowledges, but by ignorance, cowardice, and faction.* This sentence had scarce escaped him, when, notwithstanding the qualifying words with which his candour had acquitted the last mentioned persons of intentional treachery, it appeared too harsh to his gentle nature, and declaring himself displeased with the hard epithets† he had used, he desires they may be put out of any account that is to be given of these transactions. The manner

* “ friends were our greatest enemies, all without exception, both to betray and destroy us; and indeed and were the greatest cause of our rout, and (of) my being taken; though not designedly I acknowledge, yet by ignorance, cowardice, and faction.” E.

† “ I am not pleased with myself. I have such hard epithets of some of my countrymen, seeing they are Christians; pray put it out of any account you give; only I must acknowledge, they were not governable, and the humour you found begun, continued.” Woodrow, II. 538. After an ineffectual research to discover the original MS. Mr. Fox observes in a letter, “ *Cochrane* and *Hume* certainly filled up the two principal blanks; with respect to the other blank, it is more difficult, but neither is it very material.” Accordingly, the blanks in the text, and in the preceding note, may be filled up thus, “ (*Cochrane*’s) friends were our greatest enemies,” &c. “ and indeed “ *Hume* and *Cochrane* were the greatest cause of our rout,” &c. E.

in which this request is worded, shews, that the paper he was writing was intended for a letter, and as it is supposed, to a Mrs. Smith, who seems to have assisted him with money; but whether or not, this lady was the rich widow of Amsterdam, before alluded to, I have not been able to learn.

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When he is told that he is to be put to the torture, he neither breaks out into any high-sounding bravado, any premature vaunts of the resolution with which he will endure it, nor, on the other hand, into passionate exclamations on the cruelty of his enemies, or unmanly lamentations of his fate. After stating that orders were arrived, that he must be tortured, unless he answers all questions upon oath, he simply adds, that he hopes God will support him; and then leaves off writing, not from any want of spirits to proceed, but to enjoy the consolation which was yet left him, in the society of his wife, the Countess being just then admitted.

Threatened
with torture.

Of his interview with Queensberry, who examined him in private, little is known, except that he denied his design having been concerted with any persons in Scotland; that he gave no information with respect to his associates in England; and that he boldly and frankly averred his hopes to have been founded on the cruelty of the administration, and

His examination by
Queensberry.

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such a disposition in the people to revolt, as he conceived to be the natural consequence of oppression. He owned at the same time, that he had trusted too much to this principle.* The precise date of this conversation, whether it took place before the threat, of the torture, whilst that threat was impending, or when there was no longer any intention of putting it into execution, I have not been able to ascertain; but the probability seems to be, that it was during the first or second of these periods.

Considers his
enterprize as
lawful.

Notwithstanding the ill success that had attended his enterprize, he never expresses, or even hints the smallest degree of contrition for having undertaken it: on the contrary, when Mr. Charteris, an eminent divine, is permitted to wait on him, his first caution to that minister is, not to try to convince him of the unlawfulness of his attempt, concerning which his opinion was settled, and his mind made up.+ Of some parts of his past conduct he does indeed confess that he repents, but these are the compliances of which he had been guilty in support of the King, or his predecessors. Possibly in this he may allude to his having in his youth borne arms against the Covenant, but with more likelihood to his concurrence, in the late reign, with some of the mea-

* Burnet, II. 315. + Burnet

sures of Lauderdale's administration, for whom it is certain that he entertained a great regard, and to whom he conceived himself to be principally indebted for his escape from his first sentence. Friendship and gratitude might have carried him to lengths which patriotism and justice must condemn.

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Religious concerns, in which he seems to have been very serious and sincere, engaged much of his thoughts; but his religion was of that genuine kind, which by representing the performance of our duties to our neighbour, as the most acceptable service to God, strengthens all the charities of social life. While he anticipates, with a hope approaching to certainty, a happy futurity, he does not forget those who have been justly dear to him in this world. He writes, on the day of his execution, to his wife, and to some other relations, for whom he seems to have entertained a sort of parental tenderness, short but the most affectionate letters, wherein he gives them the greatest satisfaction then in his power, by assuring them of his composure and tranquillity of mind, and refers them for further consolations to those sources from which he derived his own. In his letter to Mrs. Smith, written on the same day, he says, " While any thing was a burden to me, your
 " concern was; which is a cross greater than I can

His deport-
ment on the
day of his
execution.

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Never perhaps did a few sentences present so striking a picture of a mind truly virtuous and honourable. Heroick courage is the least part of his praise, and vanishes as it were from our sight, when we contemplate the sensibility with which he acknowledges the kindness, such as it is, of the very men who are leading him to the scaffold; the generous satisfaction which he feels on reflecting that no confession of his has endangered his associates; and above all, his anxiety, in such moments, to perform all the duties of friendship and gratitude, not

* Woodrow, II. 541, 542.

only with the most scrupulous exactness, but with the most considerate attention to the feelings as well as to the interests of the person who was the object of them. Indeed, it seems throughout, to have been the peculiar felicity of this man's mind, that every thing was present to it that ought to be so; nothing that ought not. Of his country he could not be unmindful; and it was one among other consequences of his happy temper, that on this subject he did not entertain those gloomy ideas, which the then state of Scotland was but too well fitted to inspire. In a conversation with an intimate friend, he says, that though he does not take upon him to be a prophet, he doubts not but that deliverance will come, and suddenly, of which his failings had rendered him unworthy to be the instrument. In some verses which he composed on the night preceding his execution, and which he intended for his epitaph, he thus expresses this hope still more distinctly:

“ On my attempt though Providence did frown,
“ His oppressed people God at length shall own;
“ Another hand, by more successful speed,
“ Shall raise the remnant, bruise the serpent's head.”

With respect to the epitaph itself, of which these lines form a part, it is probable that he composed it chiefly with a view to amuse and relieve his mind,

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tion of the famous Marquis of Montrose, who, in similar circumstances, had written some verses which have been much celebrated. The poetical merit of the pieces appears to be nearly equal, and is not in either instance considerable, and they are only in so far valuable, as they may serve to convey to us some image of the minds by which they were produced. He who reads them with this view, will perhaps be of opinion, that the spirit manifested in the two compositions, is rather equal in degree, than like in character; that the courage of Montrose was more turbulent, that of Argyle more calm and sedate. If on the one hand it is to be regretted, that we have not more memorials left of passages so interesting, and that even of those which we do possess, a great part is obscured by time; it must be confessed, on the other, that we have quite enough to enable us to pronounce, that for constancy and equanimity under the severest trials, few men have equalled, none ever surpassed, the Earl of Argyle. The most powerful of all tempters, hope, was not held out to him, so that he had not, it is true, in addition to his other hard tasks, that of resisting her seductive influence; but the passions of a different class had the fullest scope for their attacks. These,

however, could make no impression on his well-disciplined mind. Anger could not exasperate, fear could not appall him; and if disappointment and indignation at the misbehaviour of his followers, and the supineness of the country, did occasionally, as sure they must, cause uneasy sensations, they had not the power to extort from him one unbecoming, or even querulous expression. Let him be weighed never so scrupulously, and in the nicest scales, he will not be found, in a single instance, wanting in the charity of a Christian, the firmness and benevolence of a patriot, the integrity and fidelity of a man of honour.

The Scotch Parliament had, on the eleventh of June, sent an Address to the King, wherein, after praising his Majesty as usual for his extraordinary prudence, courage, and conduct, and loading Argyle, whom they style an hereditary traitor, with every reproach they can devise, among others, that of ingratitude for the favours which he had received, as well from his Majesty, as from his predecessor, they implore his Majesty that the Earl may find no favour; and that the Earl's family, the heritors, ring-leaders, and preachers who joined him, should be for ever declared incapable of mercy, or bearing any honour or estate in the kingdom; and all subjects discharged

An Address
from the
Scotch Par-
liament
against him.

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under the highest pains to intercede for them in any manner of way. Never was address more graciously received, or more readily complied with; and accordingly, the following letter with the royal signature, and countersigned by Lord Melford, Secretary of State for Scotland, was dispatched to the council at Edinburgh, and by them entered and registered on the twenty-ninth of June.

The warrant
for his execution.

“Whereas, the late Earl of Argyle is, by the providence of God, fallen into our power, it is our will and pleasure that you take all ways to know from him those things which concern our government most, as his assisters with men, arms, and money; his associates and correspondents; his designs, &c. But this must be done, so as no time may be lost in bringing him to condign punishment, by causing him to be demeaned as a traitor, within the space of three days after this shall come to your hands; an account of which, with what he shall confess, you shall send immediately to us or our Secretaries; for doing which, this shall be your warrant.”*

When it is recollected that torture had been in common use in Scotland, and that the persons to

* Woodrow, II. 539.

whom the letter was addressed, had often caused it to be inflicted, the words “ It is our will and pleasure “ that you take all ways,” seem to convey a positive command for applying of it in this instance; yet it is certain that Argyle was not tortured. What was the cause of this seeming disregard of the royal injunctions, does not appear. One would hope, for the honour of human nature, that James, struck with some compunction for the injuries he had already heaped upon the head of this unfortunate nobleman, sent some private orders contradictory to this publick letter; but there is no trace to be discovered of such a circumstance. The managers themselves might feel a sympathy for a man of their own rank, which had no influence in the cases where only persons of an inferior station were to be the sufferers; and in those words of the King’s letter, which enjoin a speedy punishment, as the primary object to which all others must give way, they might find a pretext for overlooking the most odious part of the order, and of indulging their humanity, such as it was, by appointing the earliest day possible for the execution. In order that the triumph of injustice might be complete, it was determined, that without any new trial, the Earl should suffer upon the iniquitous sentence of sixteen

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An incident
 before his
 execution.

Before he left the Castle he had his dinner at the usual hour, at which he discoursed, not only calmly, but even cheerfully with Mr. Charteris and others. After dinner he retired, as was his custom, to his bed-chamber, where, it is recorded, that he slept quietly for about a quarter of an hour. While he was in his bed, one of the members of the council came and intimated to the attendants a desire to speak with him: upon being told that the Earl was asleep, and had left orders not to be disturbed, the manager disbelieved the account, which he considered as a device to avoid further questionings. To satisfy him, the door of the bed-chamber was half opened, and he then beheld, enjoying a sweet and tranquil slumber, the man, who by the doom of him and his fellows, was to die within the space of two short hours! Struck with this sight, he hurried out of the room, quitted the Castle with the utmost precipitation, and hid himself in the lodgings of an acquaintance who lived near, where he flung himself upon the first bed that presented itself, and had every

appearance of a man suffering the most excruciating torture. His friend, who had been apprized by the servant of the state he was in, and who naturally concluded that he was ill, offered him some wine. He refused, saying, “ No, no, that will not help me; “ I have been in at Argyle, and saw him sleeping as “ pleasantly as ever man did, within an hour of etern- “ nity. But as for me——.”* The name of the person to whom this anecdote relates, is not mentioned, and the truth of it may therefore be fairly considered as liable to that degree of doubt, with which men of judgment receive every species of traditional history. Woodrow, however, whose veracity is above suspicion, says he had it from the most unquestionable authority. It is not in itself unlikely; and who is there that would not wish it true? What a satisfactory spectacle to a philosophical mind, to see the oppressor, in the zenith of his power, envying his victim! What an acknowledgment of the superiority of virtue! what an affecting, and forcible testimony to the value of that peace of mind, which innocence alone can confer! We know not who this man was; but when we reflect, that the guilt which agonized him was probably incurred for the sake of some vain title, or at least of some increase of wealth, which

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* Woodrow, II. 541.

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he did not want, and possibly knew not how to enjoy, our disgust is turned into something like compassion for that very foolish class of men, whom the world calls wise in their generation.

His behaviour on the scaffold.

Soon after his short repose Argyle was brought, according to order, to the Laigh Council-house, from which place is dated the letter to his wife, and thence to the place of execution. On the scaffold he had some discourse, as well with Mr. Annand, a minister appointed by Government to attend him, as with Mr. Charteris. He desired both of them to pray for him, and prayed himself with much fervency and devotion. The speech which he made to the people was such as might be expected from the passages already related. The same mixture of firmness and mildness is conspicuous in every part of it. “ We ought not,” says he, “ to despise our “ afflictions, nor to faint under them. We must not “ suffer ourselves to be exasperated against the in- “ struments of our troubles, nor by fraudulent, nor “ pusillanimous compliances, bring guilt upon our- “ selves; faint hearts are ordinarily false hearts, “ choosing sin, rather than suffering.” He offers his prayers to God for the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that an end may be put to their present trials. Having then asked

pardon for his own failings, both of God and man, he would have concluded; but being reminded that he had said nothing of the Royal Family, he adds that he refers, in this matter, to what he had said at his trial concerning the Test; that he prayed there never might be wanting one of the Royal Family to support the Protestant Religion; and if any of them had swerved from the true faith, he prayed God to turn their hearts, but at any rate to save his people from their machinations. When he had ended, he turned to the south side of the scaffold, and said, “ Gentlemen, I pray you do not miscon-
 “ struct my behaviour this day: I freely forgive all
 “ men their wrongs and injuries done against me, as
 “ I desire to be forgiven of God.” Mr. Annand repeated these words louder to the people. The Earl then went to the north side of the scaffold, and used the same or the like expressions. Mr. Annand repeated them again, and said, “ This nobleman dies a
 “ Protestant.” The Earl stepped forward again, and said,
 “ I die not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred
 “ of Popery, prelacy, and all superstition whatsom-
 “ ever.”* It would perhaps have been better if these last expressions had never been uttered, as there appears certainly something of violence in them

* Woodrow, 543, 545.

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 1685. unsuitable to the general tenour of his language; but it must be remembered, first, that the opinion that the Pope is Antichrist was at that time general among almost all the zealous Protestants in these kingdoms; secondly, that Annand, being employed by Government, and probably an Episcopalian, the Earl might apprehend that the declaration of such a minister, might not convey the precise idea, which he, Argyle, affixed to the word Protestant.

His execution.

He then embraced his friends, gave some tokens of remembrance to his son-in-law, Lord Maitland, for his daughter and grand-children, stript himself of part of his apparel, of which he likewise made presents, and laid his head upon the block. Having uttered a short prayer, he gave the signal to the executioner, which was instantly obeyed, and his head severed from his body.* Such were the last hours, and such the final close, of this great man's life. May the like happy serenity in such dreadful circumstances, and a death equally glorious, be the lot of all, whom tyranny, of whatever denomination or description, shall in any age, or in any country, call to expiate their virtues on the scaffold!

Fate of his followers.

Of the followers of Argyle, in the disastrous expedition above recounted, the fortunes were various.

* Woodrow, 543, 545.

Among those who either surrendered or were taken, some suffered the same fate with their commander, others were pardoned; while, on the other hand, of those who escaped to foreign parts, many after a short exile returned triumphantly to their country at the period of the Revolution, and under a system congenial to their principles, some even attained the highest honours and dignities of the state. It is to be recollected, that when, after the disastrous night-march from Killerne, a separation took place at Kilpatrick between Argyle and his confederates, Sir John Cochrane, Sir Patrick Hume, and others, crossed the Clyde into Renfrewshire, with about, it is supposed, two hundred men. Upon their landing, they met with some opposition from a troop of militia horse, which was however feeble and ineffectual; but fresh parties of militia, as well as regular troops drawing together, a sort of scuffle ensued, near a place called Muirdyke; an offer of quarter was made by the King's troops, but (probably on account of the conditions annexed to it,) was refused; and Cochrane and the rest, now reduced to the number of seventy, took shelter in a fold-dyke, where they were able to resist and repel, though not without loss on each side, the attack of the enemy. Their situation was nevertheless still desperate, and

CHAPTER in the night they determined to make their escape.
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Cochrane be-
 trayed, and
 pardoned.

The King's troops having retired, this was effected without difficulty; and this remnant of an army being dispersed by common consent, every man sought his own safety in the best manner he could. Sir John Cochrane took refuge in the house of an uncle, by whom, or by whose wife it is said, he was betrayed. He was however pardoned; and from this circumstance, coupled with the constant and seemingly pceevish opposition which he gave to almost all Argyle's plans, a suspicion has arisen, that he had been treacherous throughout. But the account given of his pardon by Burnet, who says his father, Lord Dundonald, who was an opulent nobleman, purchased it with a considerable sum of money,* is more credible, as well as more candid; and it must be remembered, that in Sir John's disputes with his general, he was almost always acting in conjunction with Sir Patrick Hume, who is proved, by the subsequent events, and indeed by the whole tenour of his life and conduct, to have been uniformly sincere and zealous in the cause of his country. Cochrane was sent to England, where he had an interview with the King, and gave such answers to the questions put to him, as were deemed satisfactory by his

* Burnet, II. 316.

Majesty; and the information thus obtained, whatever might be the real and secret causes, furnished a plausible pretence at least for the exercise of royal mercy. Sir Patrick Hume, after having concealed himself some time in the house, and under the protection, of Lady Eleanor Dunbar, sister to the Earl of Eglington, found means to escape to Holland, whence he returned in better times, and was created first Lord Hume of Polwarth, and afterward Earl of Marchmont. Fullarton, and Campbell of Auchinbreak, appear to have escaped, but by what means is not known. Two sons of Argyle, John and Charles, and Archibald Campbell, his nephew, were sentenced to death and forfeiture, but the capital part of the sentence was remitted. Thomas Archer, a clergyman, who had been wounded at Muirdyke, was executed, notwithstanding many applications in his favour, among which was one from Lord Drumlanrig, Queensberry's eldest son. Woodrow, who was himself a Presbyterian minister, and though a most valuable and correct historian, was not without a tincture of the prejudices belonging to his order, attributes the unrelenting spirit of the Government in this instance, to their malice against the clergy of his sect. Some of the holy ministry, he observes, as Guthrie at the Restoration, Kidd and Mackail after

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Hume and
others
escaped to
Holland.Archer
executed.

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the insurrections at Pentland and Bothwell-bridge, and now Archer, were upon every occasion to be sacrificed to the fury of the persecutors.* But to him who is well acquainted with the history of this period, the habitual cruelty of the Government will fully account for any particular act of severity; and it is only in cases of lenity, such as that of Cochrane, for instance, that he will look for some hidden or special motive.

Ayloffé executed in England.

Ayloffé, having in vain attempted to kill himself, was, like Cochrane, sent to London to be examined. His relationship to the King's first wife might perhaps be one inducement to this measure, or it might be thought more expedient that he should be executed for the Rye-house plot, the credit of which it was a favourite object of the Court to uphold, than for his recent acts of rebellion in Scotland. Upon his examination he refused to give any information, and suffered death upon a sentence of outlawry, which had passed in the former reign. It is recorded, that James interrogated him personally, and finding him sullen, and unwilling to speak, said, " Mr. Ayloffé, " you know it is in my power to pardon you, therefore say that which may deserve it;" to which Ayloffé replied, " Though it is in your power, it is " not in your nature to pardon." This, however,

* Woodrow, 553.

is one of those anecdotes, which is believed rather on account of the air of nature that belongs to them, than upon any very good traditional authority, and which ought, therefore, when any very material inference, with respect either to fact or character, is to be drawn from them, to be received with great caution.

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Rumbold, covered with wounds, and defending himself with uncommon exertions of strength and courage, was at last taken. However desirable it might have been thought, to execute in England a man so deeply implicated in the Rye-house plot, the state of Rumbold's health made such a project impracticable. Had it been attempted, he would probably, by a natural death, have disappointed the views of a government who were eager to see brought to the block, a man whom they thought, or pretended to think, guilty of having projected the assassination of the late and present King. Weakened as he was in body, his mind was firm, his constancy unshaken; and notwithstanding some endeavours that were made by drums, and other instruments, to drown his voice when he was addressing the people from the scaffold, enough has been preserved of what he then uttered, to satisfy us, that his personal courage, the praise of which has not been denied

Rumbold.

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His denial of
the assassina-
tion plot,

him, was not of the vulgar or constitutional kind, but was accompanied with a proportionable vigour of mind. Upon hearing his sentence, whether in imitation of Montrose, or from that congeniality of character, which causes men in similar circumstances to conceive similar sentiments, he expressed the same wish which that gallant nobleman had done; he wished he had a limb for every town in Christendom. With respect to the intended assassination imputed to him, he protested his innocence, and desired to be believed upon the faith of a dying man; adding, in terms as natural as they are forcibly descriptive of a conscious dignity of character, that he was too well known, for any to have had the imprudence to make such a proposition to him. He concluded with plain, and apparently sincere, declarations of his undiminished attachment to the principles of liberty, civil and religious; denied that he was an enemy to monarchy, affirming, on the contrary, that he considered it, when properly limited, as the most eligible form of government; but that he never could believe that any man was born marked by God above another, “for none comes into the world with a saddle on his back, neither any booted and spurred to ride him.”*

* Ralph, I. 872.

Except by Ralph, who, with a warmth that does honour to his feelings, expatiates at some length upon the subject, the circumstances attending the death of this extraordinary man have been little noticed. Rapin, Echard, Kennet, Hume, make no mention of them whatever; and yet, exclusively of the interest always excited by any great display of spirit and magnanimity, his solemn denial of the project of assassination imputed to him in the affair of the Rye-house plot, is in itself a fact of great importance, and one which might have been expected to attract, in no small degree, the attention of the historian. That Hume, who has taken some pains in canvassing the degree of credit due to the different parts of the Rye-house plot, should pass it over in silence, is the more extraordinary, because, in the case of the Popish plot, he lays, and justly lays, the greatest stress upon the dying declarations of the sufferers. Burnet adverts, as well to the peculiar language used by Rumbold, as to his denial of the assassination; but having before given us to understand, that he believed that no such crime had been projected, it is the less to be wondered at, that he does not much dwell upon this further evidence in favour of his former opinion. Sir John Dalrymple, upon the authority of

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by historians.

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a paper which he does not produce, but from which he quotes enough to show, that if produced it would not answer his purpose, takes Rumbold's guilt for a decided fact, and then states his dying protestations of his innocence, as an instance of aggravated wickedness.* It is to be remarked too, that although Sir John is pleased roundly to assert, that Rumbold denied the share he had had in the Rye-house plot, yet the particular words which he cites neither contain, nor express, nor imply any such denial. He has not even selected those, by which the design of assassination was denied, (the only denial that was uttered,) but refers to a general declaration made by Rumbold, that he had done injustice to no man; a declaration which was by no means inconsistent with his having been a party to a plot, which he, no doubt, considered as justifiable, and even meritorious. This is not all: the paper referred to is addressed to Walcot, by whom Rumbold states himself to have been led on; and Walcot, with his last breath, denied his own participation in any design to murder either Charles or James. Thus, therefore, whether the declaration of the sufferer be interpreted in a general, or in a particular sense, there is no contradiction whatever between it and

* Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, I. 141.

the paper adduced ; but thus it is, that the character of a brave, and, as far as appears, a virtuous man, is most unjustly and cruelly traduced. An incredible confusion of head, and an uncommon want of reasoning powers, which distinguish the author to whom I refer, are, I should charitably hope, the true sources of his misrepresentation ; while others may probably impute it to his desire of blackening, upon any pretence, a person whose name is more or less connected with those of Sidney and Russel. It ought not, perhaps, to pass without observation, that this attack upon Rumbold is introduced only in an oblique manner : the rigour of government destroyed, says the historian, the morals it intended to correct, and made the unhappy sufferer add to his former crimes, the atrocity of declaring a falsehood in his last moments. Now, what particular instances of rigour are here alluded to, it is difficult to guess : for surely the execution of a man whom he sets down as guilty of a design to murder the two royal brothers, could not, even in the judgment of persons much less accustomed than Sir John to palliate the crimes of princes, be looked upon as an act of blameable severity ; but it was thought, perhaps, that for the purpose of conveying a calumny upon the persons concerned, or accused of being concerned,

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His declara-
tion exami-
ned.

in the Rye-house plot, an affected censure upon the government would be the fittest vehicle.

The fact itself, that Rumbold did, in his last hours, solemnly deny the having been concerned in any project for assassinating the King or Duke, has not, I believe, been questioned.* It is not invalidated by the silence of some historians: it is confirmed by the mis-representation of others. The first question that naturally presents itself, must be, was this declaration true? The asseverations of dying men have always had, and will always have, great influence upon the minds of those who do not push their ill opinion of mankind to the most outrageous and unwarrantable length; but though the weight of such asseverations be in all cases great, it will not be in all equal. It is material therefore to consider, first, what are the circumstances which may tend in particular cases to diminish their credit; and next, how far such circumstances appear to have existed in the case before us. The case where this species of evidence would be the least convincing, would be where hope of pardon is entertained; for then the man is not a dying man in the sense of the proposition, for he

* It is confirmed, beyond contradiction, by Lord Fountainhall's account of his trial and execution. Vide Appendix. E.

has not that certainty that his falsehood will not avail him, which is the principal foundation of the credit due to his assertions. For the same reason, though in a less degree, he who hopes for favour to his children, or to other surviving connections, is to be listened to with some caution; for the existence of one virtue, does not necessarily prove that of another, and he who loves his children and friends may yet be profligate and unprincipled, or, deceiving himself, may think, that while his ends are laudable, he ought not to hesitate concerning the means. Beside these more obvious temptations to prevarication, there is another, which, though it may lie somewhat deeper, yet experience teaches us to be rooted in human nature: I mean that sort of obstinacy, or false shame, which makes men so unwilling to retract what they have once advanced, whether in matter of opinion, or of fact. The general character of the man is also in this, as in all other human testimony, a circumstance of the greatest moment. Where none of the above mentioned objections occur, and where, therefore, the weight of evidence in question is confessedly considerable, yet is it still liable to be balanced or outweighed by evidence in the opposite scale.

Let Rumbold's declaration then, be examined upon

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His testi-
mony appa-
rently true.

these principles, and we shall find that it has every character of truth, without a single circumstance to discredit it. He was so far from entertaining any hope of pardon, that he did not seem even to wish it; and indeed, if he had had any such chimerical object in view, he must have known, that to have supplied the Government with a proof of the Rye-house Assassination plot, would be a more likely road at least, than a steady denial, to obtain it. He left none behind him, for whom to entreat favour, or whose welfare or honour were at all affected by any confession or declaration he might make. If, in a prospective view, he was without temptation, so neither if he looked back, was he fettered by any former declaration; so that he could not be influenced by that erroneous notion of consistency, to which, it may be feared, that truth, even in the most awful moments, has in some cases been sacrificed. His timely escape, in sixteen hundred and eighty-three, had saved him from the necessity of making any protestation upon the subject of his innocence at that time; and the words of the letter to Walcot are so far from containing such a protestation, that they are quoted, (very absurdly, it is true,) by Sir John Dalrymple, as an avowal of guilt. If his testimony is free from these particular objections, much less is

it impeached by his general character, which was that of a bold and daring man, who was very unlikely to feel shame in avowing what he had not been ashamed to commit, and who seems to have taken a delight in speaking bold truths, or at least what appeared to him to be such, without regarding the manner in which his hearers were likely to receive them. With respect to the last consideration, that of the opposite evidence, it all depends upon the veracity of men, who, according to their own account, betrayed their comrades, and were actuated by the hope either of pardon or reward.

It appears to be of the more consequence to clear up this matter, because, if we should be of opinion, as I think we all must be, that the story of the intended assassination of the King, in his way from Newmarket, *is as* fabulous as that of the silver bullets by which he was to have been shot at Windsor, a most singular train of reflections will force itself upon our minds, as well in regard to the character of the times, as to the means by which the two causes gained successively the advantage over each other. The Royalists had found it impossible to discredit the fiction, gross as it was, of the Popish plot; nor could they prevent it from being a powerful engine in the hands of the Whigs, who, during the

Importance
of the fact.

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Monmouth's
invasion.

While these matters were transacting in Scotland, Monmouth, conformably to his promise to Argyle, set sail from Holland, and landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire on the eleventh of June. He was attended by Lord Grey of Wark, Fletcher of Salton, Colonel Matthews, Ferguson, and a few other gentlemen. His reception was, among the lower ranks, cordial, and for some days, at least, if not weeks, there seemed to have been more foundation for the sanguine hopes of Lord Grey, and others, his followers, than the Duke had supposed. The first step taken by the invader, was to issue a proclamation, which he caused to be read in the market-place. In this instrument he touched upon what were, no doubt, thought to be the most popular topicks; and loaded James, and his Catholick friends, with every imputation which had at any time been thrown against them. This declaration appears to have been well received, and the numbers that came in to him were very considerable; but his means of arming them were limited, nor had he much confidence, for the purpose of any important military operation, in men unused to discipline, and wholly unacquainted with the art of war. Without examining the question, whether or not Monmouth, from his professional prejudices, carried, as some have alledged he did, his diffidence

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of unpractised soldiers, and new levies, too far, it seems clear that, in his situation, the best, or rather the only chance of success, was to be looked for in counsels of the boldest kind. If he could not immediately strike some important stroke, it was not likely that he ever should; nor indeed was he in a condition to wait. He could not flatter himself, as Argyle had done, that he had a strong country, full of relations and dependants, where he might secure himself till the co-operation of his confederate, or some other favourable circumstance, might put it in his power to act more efficaciously. Of any brilliant success in Scotland he could not, at this time, entertain any hope, nor if he had, could he rationally expect that any events in that quarter would make the sort of impression here, which, on the other hand, his success would produce in Scotland. With money he was wholly unprovided; nor does it appear, whatever may have been the inclination of some considerable men, such as Lords Macclesfield, Brandon, Delamere, and others, that any persons of that description were engaged to join in his enterprisc. His reception had been above his hopes, and his recruits more numerous than could be expected, or than he was able to furnish with arms; while, on the other hand, the forces in arms against him consisted chiefly in a

militia, formidable neither from numbers nor discipline, and moreover suspected of disaffection. The present moment therefore, seemed to offer the most favourable opportunity for enterprise of any that was like to occur; but the unfortunate Monmouth judged otherwise, and, as if he were to defend rather than to attack, directed his chief policy to the avoiding of a general action.

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It being however absolutely necessary to dislodge some troops which the Earl of Faversham had thrown into Bridport, a detachment of three hundred men was made for that purpose, which had the most complete success, notwithstanding the cowardice of Lord Grey, who commanded them. This nobleman, who had been so instrumental in persuading his friend to the invasion, upon the first appearance of danger, is said to have left the troops whom he commanded, and to have sought his own personal safety in flight. The troops carried Bridport, to the shame of the commander who had deserted them and returned to Lyme.

His success
at Bridport.

It is related by Ferguson, that Monmouth said to Matthews, "What shall I do with Lord Grey?" to which the other answered, "That he was the only 'general in Europe who would ask such a question;' intending, no doubt, to reproach the Duke

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with the excess to which he pushed his characteristic virtues of mildness and forbearance. That these virtues formed a part of his character, is most true, and the personal friendship in which he had lived with Grey, would incline him still more to the exercise of them upon this occasion; but it is to be remembered also, that the delinquent was, in respect of rank, property, and perhaps too of talent, by far the most considerable man he had with him; and therefore, that prudential motives might concur, to deter a General from proceeding to violent measures with such a person, especially in a civil war, where the discipline of an armed party cannot be conducted upon the same system as that of a regular army serving in a foreign war. Monmouth's disappointment in Lord Grey was aggravated by the loss of Fletcher of Salton, who, in a sort of scuffle that ensued, upon his being reproached for having seized a horse belonging to a man of the country, had the misfortune to kill the owner. Monmouth, however unwilling, thought himself obliged to dismiss him; and thus, while a fatal concurrence of circumstances forced him to part with the man he esteemed, and to retain him whom he despised, he found himself at once disappointed of the support of the two persons upon whom he had most relied.

On the fifteenth of June, his army being now increased to near three thousand men, the Duke marched from Lyme. He does not appear to have taken this step with a view to any enterprise of importance, but rather to avoid the danger which he apprehended from the motions of the Devonshire and Somerset militias, whose object it seemed to be to shut him up in Lyme. In his first day's march, he had opportunities of engaging, or rather of pursuing each of those bodies, who severally retreated from his forces; but conceiving it to be his business, as he said, not to fight but to march on, he went through Axminster, and encamped in a strong piece of ground between that town and Chard in Somersetshire, to which place he proceeded on the ensuing day. According to Wade's narrative, which appears to afford by far the most authentic account of these transactions, here it was that the first proposition was made for proclaiming Monmouth King. Ferguson made the proposal, and was supported by Lord Grey, but it was *easily run down*, as Wade expresses it, *by those who were against it*, and whom, therefore, we must suppose to have formed a very considerable majority of the persons deemed of sufficient importance to be consulted on such an occasion. These circumstances are material, because

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His subsequent progress.

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if that credit be given to them which they appear to deserve, Ferguson's want of veracity becomes so notorious, that it is hardly worth while to attend to any part of his narrative. Where it only corroborates accounts given by others, it is of little use; and where it differs from them, it deserves no credit. I have therefore wholly disregarded it.

His reception
at Taunton.

From Chard, Monmouth and his party proceeded to Taunton, a town, where, as well for the tenour of former occurrences, as from the zeal and number of the Protestant Dissenters, who formed a great portion of its inhabitants, he had every reason to expect the most favourable reception. His expectations were not disappointed. The inhabitants of the upper, as well as the lower classes vied with each other in testifying their affection for his person, and their zeal for his cause. While the latter rent the air with applauses and acclamations, the former opened their houses to him and to his followers, and furnished his army with necessaries and supplies of every kind. His way was strewed with flowers: the windows were thronged with spectators, all anxious, to participate in what the warm feelings of the moment made them deem a triumph. Husbands pointed out to their wives, mothers to their children, the brave and lovely hero, who was destined to be the deliverer of

his country. The beautiful lines which Dryden makes Achitophel, in his highest strain of flattery, apply to this unfortunate nobleman, were in this instance literally verified :

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" Thee, Saviour, thee, the nation's vows confess,

" And never satisfied with seeing, bless.

" Swift unbespoken poms thy steps proclaim,

" And stammering babes are taught to lisp thy name."

In the midst of these joyous scenes, twenty-six young maids, of the best families in the town presented him, in the name of their townsmen, with colours wrought by them for the purpose, and with a Bible; upon receiving which he said, that he had taken the field with a design to defend the truth contained in that book, and to seal it with his blood if there was occasion.

In such circumstances it is no wonder that his army increased; and indeed, exclusive of individual recruits, he was here strengthened by the arrival of Colonel Bassett with a considerable corps. But in the midst of these prosperous circumstances, some of them of such apparent importance to the success of his enterprize, all of them highly flattering to his feelings, he did not fail to observe that one favourable symptom, (and that too of the most

He is joined
by no great
families.

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decisive nature,) was still wanting. None of the considerable families, not a single nobleman, and scarcely any gentleman of rank and consequence in the counties through which he had passed, had declared in his favour. Popular applause is undoubtedly sweet; and not only so, it often furnishes most powerful means to the genius that knows how to make use of them. But Monmouth well knew that without the countenance and assistance of a proportion, at least, of the higher ranks in the country, there was, for an undertaking like his, little prospect of success. He could not but have remarked that the habits and prejudices of the English people are, in a great degree, aristocratical; nor had he before him, nor indeed have we, since his time, had one single example of an insurrection that was successful, unaided by the ancient families and great landed proprietors. He must have felt this the more, because, in former parts of his political life, he had been accustomed to act with such coadjutors; and it is highly probable, that if Lord Russel had been alive, and could have appeared at the head of one hundred only of his western tenantry, such a reinforcement would have inspired him with more real confidence, than the thousands who individually flocked to his standard.

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He declares
himself King.

But though Russel was no more, there were not wanting, either in the provinces through which the Duke passed, or in other parts of the kingdom, many noble and wealthy families, who were attached to the principles of the Whigs. To account for their neutrality, and, if possible, to persuade them to a different conduct, was naturally among his principal concerns. Their present coldness might be imputed to the indistinctness of his declarations, with respect to what was intended to be the future government. Men zealous for monarchy, might not choose to embark without some certain pledge that their favourite form should be preserved. They would also expect to be satisfied with respect to the person whom their arms, if successful, were to place upon the throne. To promise, therefore, the continuance of a monarchical establishment, and to designate the future monarch, seemed to be necessary for the purpose of acquiring aristocratical support. Whatever might be the intrinsic weight of this argument, it easily made its way with Monmouth in his present situation. The aspiring temper of mind which is the natural consequence of popular favour and success, produced in him a disposition to listen to any suggestion which tended to his elevation and aggrandisement; and when he

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1685. could persuade himself upon reasons specious at least, that the measures which would most gratify his aspiring desires, would be, at the same time, a stroke of the soundest policy, it is not to be wondered at, that it was immediately and impatiently adopted. Urged therefore, by these mixed motives, he declared himself King, and issued divers proclamations in the royal style; assigning to those whose approbation he doubted, the reasons above adverted to, and proscribing, and threatening with the punishment due to rebellion, such as should resist his mandates, and adhere to the usurping Duke of York.

Dissatisfaction which it occasions.

If this measure was in reality taken with views of policy, those views were miserably disappointed; for it does not appear that one proselyte was gained. The threats in the proclamation were received with derision by the King's army, and no other sentiments were excited by the assumption of the royal title, than those of contempt and indignation. The commonwealthsmen were dissatisfied, of course, with the principle of the measure: the favourers of hereditary right held it in abhorrence, and considered it as a kind of sacrilegious profanation; nor even among those who considered monarchy in a more rational light, and as a magistracy instituted for the

good of the people, could it be at all agreeable that such a magistrate should be elected by the army, that had thronged to his standard, or by the particular partiality of a provincial town. Monmouth's strength therefore, was by no means increased by his new title, and seemed to be still limited to two descriptions of persons; first, those who from thoughtlessness or desperation, were willing to join in any attempt at innovation; secondly, such as directing their views to a single point, considered the destruction of James's tyranny as the object which, at all hazards, and without regard to consequences, they were bound to pursue. On the other hand, his reputation both for moderation and good faith was considerably impaired, inasmuch, as his present conduct was in direct contradiction to that part of his Declaration, wherein he had promised to leave the future adjustment of government, and especially the consideration of his own claims, to a free and independent parliament.

The notion of improving his new levies by discipline, seems to have taken such possession of Monmouth's mind, that he overlooked the probable, or rather the certain consequences of a delay, by which the enemy would be enabled to bring into the field, forces far better disciplined and appointed

Delay at
Taunton.

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Design to at-
tack Bristol.

than any which, even with the most strenuous and successful exertions, he could hope to oppose to them. Upon this principle, and especially as he had not yet fixed upon any definite object of enterprize, he did not think a stay of a few days at Taunton would be materially, if at all prejudicial to his affairs, and it was not till the twenty-first of June that he proceeded to Bridgewater, where he was received in the most cordial manner. In his march the following day from that town to Glastonbury, he was alarmed by a party of the Earl of Oxford's horse; but all apprehensions of any material interruptions were removed, by an account of the militia having left Wells, and retreated to Bath and Bristol. From Glastonbury he went to Shipton-Mallet, where the project of an attack upon Bristol was first communicated by the Duke to his officers. After some discussion, it was agreed that the attack should be made on the Gloucestershire side of the city, and with that view, to pass the Avon at Keynsham-bridge, a few miles from Bath. In their march from Shipton-Mallet, the troops were again harassed in their rear by a party of horse and dragoons, but lodged quietly at night at a village called Pensford. A detachment was sent early the next morning to possess itself of Keynsham, and to repair the bridge,

which might probably be broken down, to prevent a passage. Upon their approach, a troop of the Gloucestershire horse militia immediately abandoned the town in great precipitation, leaving behind them two horses and one man. By break of day, the bridge, which had not been much injured, was repaired, and before noon Monmouth, having passed it with his whole army, was in full march to Bristol, which he determined to attack the ensuing night. But the weather proving rainy and bad, it was deemed expedient to return to Keynsham, a measure from which he expected to reap a double advantage; to procure dry and commodious quarters for the soldiery, and to lull the enemy, by a movement which bore the semblance of a retreat, into a false and delusive security. The event however did not answer his expectation, for the troops had scarcely taken up their quarters, when they were disturbed by two parties of horse, who entered the town at two several places. An engagement ensued, in which Monmouth lost fourteen men, and a captain of horse, though in the end the Royalists were obliged to retire, leaving three prisoners. From these the Duke had information that the King's army was near at hand, and as they said, about four thousand strong.

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 Marches to-
 wards Wilt-
 shire.

This new state of affairs seemed to demand new councils. The projected enterprize upon Bristol was laid aside, and the question was, whether to make by forced marches for Gloucester, in order to pass the Severn at that city, and so to gain the counties of Salop and Chester where he expected to be met by many friends, or to march directly into Wiltshire, where, according to some intelligence received* [“ from one Adlam,”] the day before, there was a considerable body of horse, (under whose command does not appear,) ready, by their junction, to afford him a most important and seasonable support. To the first of these plans, a decisive objection was stated. The distance by Gloucester was so great, that considering the slow marches to which he would be limited, by the daily attacks with which the different small bodies of the enemy’s cavalry would not fail to harass his rear, he was in great danger of being overtaken by the King’s forces, and might thus be driven to risk all in an engagement upon terms the most disadvantageous. On the contrary, if joined in Wiltshire by the expected aids,

* Reference is made to Adlam’s intelligence, page 252. It is clear therefore that Mr. Fox had intended to name him, but as he omitted to do so, the words between the inverted commas, have been inserted by the Editor.

he might confidently offer battle to the Royal army; and provided he could bring them to an action before they were strengthened by new reinforcements, there was no unreasonable prospect of success. The latter plan was therefore adopted, and no sooner adopted than put in execution. The army was in motion without delay, and being before Bath on the morning of the twenty-sixth of June, summoned the place, rather (as it should seem,) in sport than in earnest, as there was no hope of its surrender. After this bravado they marched on southward to Philip's-Norton; where they rested; the horse in the town, and the foot in the field.

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While Monmouth was making these marches, there were not wanting in many parts of the adjacent country, strong symptoms of the attachment of the lower orders of people to his cause, and more especially in those manufacturing towns, where the Protestant dissenters were numerous. In Froome, there had been a considerable rising headed by the constable, who posted up the Duke's Declaration in the market-place. Many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns of Westbury and Warminster, came in throngs to the town to join the insurgents; some armed with fire-arms, but more with such rustick weapons as opportunity could supply. Such a force,

Insurrection
at Froome
suppressed.
June 25.

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if it had joined the main army, or could have been otherwise directed by any leader of judgment and authority, might have proved very serviceable; but in its present state it was a mere rabble, and upon the first appearancé of the Earl of Pembroke, who entered the town with a hundred and sixty horse, and forty musqueteers, fell, as might be expected, into total confusion. The rout was complete; all the arms of the insurgents were seized; and the constable, after having been compelled to abjure his principles, and confess the enormity of his offence, was committed to prison.

Monmouth's
disappoint-
ment.

This transaction took place the twenty-fifth, the day before Monmouth's arrival at Philip's-Norton, and may have, in a considerable degree, contributed to the disappointment, of which we learn from Wade, that he at this time began bitterly to complain. He was now upon the confines of Wiltshire, and near enough for the bodies of horse, upon whose favourable intentions so much reliance had been placed, to have effected a junction, if they had been so disposed; but whether that Adlam's intelligence had been originally bad, or that Pembroke's proceedings at Froome had intimidated them, no symptom of such an intention could be discovered. A desertion took place in his army, which the exaggerated

accounts in the Gazette made to amount to near two thousand men. These dispiriting circumstances, added to the complete disappointment of the hopes entertained from the assumption of the royal title, produced in him a state of mind but little short of despondency. He complained that all people had deserted him, and is said to have been so dejected, as hardly to have the spirit requisite for giving the necessary orders.

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From this state of torpor, however, he appears to have been effectually roused, by a brisk attack that was made upon him on the twenty-seventh, in the morning, by the Royalists, under the command of his half-brother, the Duke of Grafton. That spirited young nobleman, (whose intrepid courage, conspicuous upon every occasion, led him in this, and many other instances, to risk a life, which he finally lost* in a better cause,) heading an advanced detachment of Lord Faversham's army, who had marched from Bath, with a view to fall on the enemy's rear,

Attacked at
Philip's-Nor-
ton.
June 27.

* At the siege of Cork in 1690. "In this action," (the taking of Cork by storm,) "the Duke of Grafton received a shot, of which he "died in a few days. He was the more lamented, as being the person "of all King Charles's children of whom there was the greatest hope; "he was brave, and probably would have become a great man at sea." Burnet, III. 83. He distinguished himself particularly in the action off Beachy-head that same year. Sir J. Dalrymple, II. 131. E.

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The Royalists
repulsed.

marched boldly up a narrow lane leading to the town, and attacked a barricade, which Monmouth had caused to be made across the way, at the entrance of the town. Monmouth was no sooner apprised of this brisk attack, than he ordered a party to go out of the town by a bye-way, who coming on the rear of the grenadiers, while others of his men were engaged with their front, had nearly surrounded them, and taken their commander prisoner, but Grafton forced his way through the enemy. An engagement ensued between the insurgents and the remainder of Faversham's detachment, who had lined the hedges which flanked them. The former were victorious, and after driving the enemy from hedge to hedge, forced them at last into the open field, where they joined the rest of the King's forces, newly come up. The killed and wounded in these rencounters amounted to about forty on Faversham's side, twenty on Monmouth's; but among the latter there were several officers, and some of note, while the loss of the former, with the exception of two volunteers, Seymour and May, consisted entirely of common soldiers.

The Royalists now drew up on an eminence, about five hundred paces from the hedges, while Monmouth having placed of his four field-pieces,

two at the mouth of the lane, and two upon a rising ground near it on the right, formed his army along the hedge. From these stations, a firing of artillery was begun on each side, and continued near six hours, but with little or no effect; Monmouth, according to Wade, losing but one, and the Royalists, according to the Gazette, not one man, by the whole cannonade. In these circumstances, notwithstanding the recent and convincing experience he now had, of the ability of his raw troops, to face, in certain situations at least, the more regular forces of his enemy, Monmouth was advised by some to retreat; but, upon a more general consultation, this advice was over-ruled, and it was determined to cut passages through the hedges and to offer battle. But, before this could be effected, the royal army, not willing again to engage among the enclosures, annoyed in the open field by the rain, which continued to fall very heavily, and disappointed, no doubt, at the little effect of their artillery, began their retreat. The little confidence which Monmouth had in his horse, perhaps the ill opinion he now entertained of their leader, forbade him to think of pursuit, and having staid till a late hour in the field, and leaving large fires burning, he set out on his march in the night, and on the twenty-eighth in the morning

CHAPTER III. reached Froome, where he put his troops in quarter and rested two days.

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Relapses into
despondency.

It was here he first heard certain news of Argyle's discomfiture. It was in vain to seek for any circumstance in his affairs that might mitigate the effect of the severe blow inflicted by this intelligence, and he relapsed into the same low spirits as at Philip's-Norton. No diversion, at least no successful diversion, had been made in his favour: there was no appearance of the horse, which had been the principal motive to allure him into that part of the country; and what was worst of all, no desertion from the King's army. It was manifest, said the Duke's more timid advisers, that the affair must terminate ill, and the only measure now to be taken, was, that the General with his officers should leave the army to shift for itself, and make severally for the most convenient sea-ports, whence they might possibly get a safe passage to the Continent. To account for Monmouth's entertaining, even for a moment, a thought so unworthy of him, and so inconsistent with the character for spirit he had ever maintained, a character unimpeached, even by his enemies, we must recollect the unwillingness with which he undertook this fatal expedition; that his engagement to Argyle, who was now past help,

was perhaps his principal motive for embarking at the time; that it was with great reluctance he had torn himself from the arms of Lady Harriet Wentworth, with whom he had so firmly persuaded himself that he could be happy in the most obscure retirement, that he believed himself weaned from ambition, which had hitherto been the only passion of his mind. It is true, that when he had once yielded to the solicitations of his friends, so far as to undertake a business of such magnitude, it was his duty, (but a duty that required a stronger mind than his to execute,) to discard from his thoughts all the arguments that had rendered his compliance reluctant. But it is one of the great distinctions between an ordinary mind and a superiour one, to be able to carry on, without relenting, a plan we have not originally approved, and especially when it appears to have turned out ill. This proposal of disbanding was a step so pusillanimous and dishonourable, that it could not be approved by any council however composed. It was condemned by all except Colonel Venner, and was particularly inveighed against by Lord Grey, who was perhaps desirous of retrieving, by bold words at least, the reputation he had lost at Bridport. It is possible too, that he might be really unconscious of his deficiency in point of personal

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courage till the moment of danger arrived, and even forgetful of it when it was ^{*}passed. Monmouth was easily persuaded to give up a plan so uncongenial to his nature, resolved, though with little hope of success, to remain with his army to take the chance of events, and at the worst to stand or fall with men whose attachment to him had laid him under indelible obligations.

Return to
Bridgewater.

This resolution being taken, the first plan was to proceed to Warminster, but on the morning of his departure, hearing, on the one hand, that the King's troops were likely to cross his march; and on the other, being informed by a Quaker before known to the Duke, that there was a great club army, amounting to ten thousand men, ready to join his standard in the marshes to the westward, he altered his intention, and returned to Shipton-Mallet, where he rested that night, his army being in good quarters. From Shipton-Mallet he proceeded, on the first of July, to Wells, upon information that there was in that city some carriages belonging to the King's army, and ill guarded. These he found and took, and stayed that night in the town. The following day he marched towards Bridgewater, in search of the great succour he had been taught to expect; but found, of the promised ten thousand men, only a

hundred and sixty. The army lay that night in the field, and once again entered Bridgewater on the third of July. That the Duke's men were not yet completely dispirited or out of heart, appears from the circumstance of great numbers of them going from Bridgewater to see their friends at Taunton, and other places in the neighbourhood, and almost all returning the next day according to their promise. On the fifth an account was received of the King's army being considerably advanced, and Monmouth's first thought was to retreat from it immediately, and marching by Axbridge and Keynsham to Gloucester, to pursue the plan formerly rejected, of penetrating into the counties of Chester and Salop.

His preparations for this march were all made, when, on the afternoon of the fifth, he learnt, more accurately than he had before done, the true situation of the Royal army, and from the information now received, he thought it expedient to consult his principal officers, whether it might not be advisable to attempt to surprise the enemy by a night attack upon their quarters. The prevailing opinion was, that if the infantry were not intrenched, the plan was worth the trial; otherwise not. Scouts were dispatched to ascertain this point, and their report being, that there was no intrenchment, an attack was

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Battle of
Sedgemore,
July 5th.

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extreme rapidity of the march had for the time disconcerted. His plan was to pass the ditch, reserving his fire; but while he was arranging his men for that purpose, another battalion, newly come up, began to fire, though at a considerable distance; a bad example, which it was impossible to prevent the vanguard from following, and it was now no longer in the power of their commander to persuade them to advance. The King's forces, as well horse and artillery as foot, had now full time to assemble. The Duke had no longer cavalry in the field, and though his artillery, which consisted only of three or four iron guns, was well served under the directions of a Dutch gunner, it was by no means equal to that of the Royal army, which, as soon as it was light, began to do great execution. In these circumstances the unfortunate Monmouth, fearful of being encompassed and made prisoner by the King's cavalry, who were approaching upon his flank, and urged, as it is reported, to flight by the same person who had stimulated him to his fatal enterprize, quitted the field, accompanied by Lord Grey and some others. The left wing, under the command of Colonel Holmes and Matthews, next gave way; and Wade's men, after having continued for an hour and a half, a distant and ineffectual fire, seeing their left

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Cause of the
defeat.

discomfited, began a retreat, which soon afterwards became a complete rout.

Thus ended the decisive battle of Sedgemore; an attack which seems to have been judiciously conceived, and in many parts spiritedly executed. The General was deficient neither in courage or conduct; and the troops, while they displayed the native bravery of Englishmen, were under as good discipline as could be expected from bodies newly raised. Two circumstances seem to have principally contributed to the loss of the day; first, the unforeseen difficulty occasioned by the ditch, of which the assailants had had no intelligence; and secondly, the cowardice of the commander of the horse. The discovery of the ditch was the more alarming, because it threw a general doubt upon the information of the spies, and the night being dark they could not ascertain that this was the only impediment of the kind which they were to expect. The dispersion of the horse was still more fatal, inasmuch as it deranged the whole order of the plan, by which it had been concerted that their operations were to facilitate the attack to be made by the foot. If Lord Grey had possessed a spirit more suitable to his birth and name, to the illustrious friendship with which he had been honoured, and to the command with which he

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was intrusted, he would doubtless have persevered till he found a passage into the enemy's camp, which could have been effected at a ford not far distant: the loss of time occasioned by the ditch might not have been very material, and the most important consequences might have ensued; but it would surely be rashness to assert, as Hume does, that the army would after all have gained the victory, had not the misconduct of Monmouth and the cowardice of Grey prevented it. This rash judgment is the more to be admired at, as the historian has not pointed out the instance of misconduct to which he refers. The number of Monmouth's men killed is computed by some at two thousand, by others at three hundred; a disparity, however, which may be easily reconciled, by supposing that the one account takes in those who were killed in battle, while the other comprehends the wretched fugitives who were massacred in ditches, corn fields, and other hiding places, the following day.

In general I have thought it right to follow Wade's narrative, which appears to me by far the most authentick, if not the only authentick account of this important transaction. It is imperfect, but its imperfection arises from the narrator's omitting all those circumstances of which he was not an eye wit- The Duke's escape from the field.

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ness, and the greater credit is on that very account due to him for those which he relates. With respect to Monmouth's quitting the field, it is not mentioned by him, nor is it possible to ascertain the precise point of time at which it happened. That he fled while his troops were still fighting, and therefore too soon for his glory, can scarcely be doubted; and the account given by Ferguson, whose veracity however is always to be suspected, that Lord Grey urged him to the measure, as well by persuasion as by example, seems not improbable. The misbehaviour of the last mentioned nobleman is more certain; but as, according to Ferguson, who has been followed by others, he actually conversed with Monmouth in the field, and as all accounts make him the companion of his flight, it is not to be understood that when he first gave way with his cavalry, he ran away in the literal sense of the words, or if he did he must have returned. The exact truth, with regard to this and many other interesting particulars, is difficult to be discovered; owing, not more to the darkness of the night in which they were transacted, than to the personal partialities and enmities by which they have been disfigured, in the relations of the different contemporary writers.

Monmouth with his suite first directed his course

towards the Bristol-channel, and as is related by Oldmixon, was once inclined, at the suggestion of Dr. Oliver, a faithful and honest adviser, to embark for the coast of Wales, with a view of concealing himself some time in that Principality. Lord Grey, who appears to have been, in all instances, his evil genius, dissuaded him from this plan, and the small party having separated, took each several ways. Monmouth, Grey, and a gentleman of Brandenburg, went southward, with a view to gain the New-Forest in Hampshire, where, by means of Grey's connections in that district, and thorough knowledge of the country, it was hoped they might be in safety, till a vessel could be procured to transport them to the Continent. They left their horses, and disguised themselves as peasants; but the pursuit, stimulated as well by party zeal, as by the great pecuniary rewards offered for the capture of Monmouth and Grey, was too vigilant to be eluded. Grey was taken on the 7th in the evening; and the German, who shared the same fate early on the next morning, confessed that he had parted from Monmouth but a few hours since. The neighbouring country was immediately and thoroughly searched, and James had ere night the satisfaction of learning, that his nephew was in his power. The unfortunate Duke was

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Discovered,
and taken.

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discovered in a ditch, half concealed by fern and nettles. His stock of provision, which consisted of some peas gathered in the fields through which he had fled, was nearly exhausted, and there is reason to think, that he had had little, if any other sustenance, since he left Bridgewater on the evening of the 5th. To repose he had been equally a stranger: how his mind must have been harassed, it is needless to discuss. Yet that in such circumstances he appeared dispirited and crest-fallen, is, by the unrelenting malignity of party writers, imputed to him as cowardice, and meanness of spirit. That the failure of his enterprize, together with the bitter reflection, that he had suffered himself to be engaged in it against his own better judgment, joined to the other calamitous circumstances of his situation, had reduced him to a state of despondency, is evident; and in this frame of mind, he wrote on the very day of his capture, the following letter to the King:

“ SIR,

“ Your Majesty may think it the misfortune I
 “ now lie under, makes me make this application to
 “ you; but I do assure your Majesty, it is the remorse
 “ I now have in me of the wrong I have done you
 “ in several things, and now in taking up arms

“ against you. For my taking up arms, it was never
 “ in my thought since the King died: The Prince
 “ and Princess of Orange will be witness for me of
 “ the assurance I gave them, that I would never
 “ stir against you. But my misfortune was such, as
 “ to meet with some horrid people, that made me
 “ believe things of your Majesty, and gave me so
 “ many false arguments, that I was fully led away
 “ to believe, that it was a shame and a sin before
 “ God, not to do it. But, Sir, I will not trouble
 “ your Majesty at present with many things I could
 “ say for myself, that I am sure would move your
 “ compassion; the chief end of this letter being
 “ only to beg of you, that I may have that happiness
 “ as to speak to your Majesty; for I have that to say
 “ to you, Sir, that I hope may give you a long and
 “ happy reign.

“ I am sure, Sir, when you hear me, you will be
 “ convinced of the zeal I have of your preservation,
 “ and how heartily I repent of what I have done.
 “ I can say no more to your Majesty now, being this
 “ letter must be seen by those that keep me. There-
 “ fore, Sir, I shall make an end, in begging of your
 “ Majesty to believe so well of me, that I would
 “ rather die a thousand deaths, than excuse any thing
 “ I have done, if I did not really think myself the

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“ most in the wrong that ever a man was ; and had
 “ not from the bottom of my heart an abhorrence for
 “ those that put me upon it, and for the action itself.
 “ I hope, Sir, God Almighty will strike your heart
 “ with mercy and compassion for me, as he has done
 “ mine with the abhorrence of what I have done :
 “ Wherefore, Sir, I hope I may live to shew you
 “ how zealous I shall ever be for your service ; and
 “ could I but say one word in this letter, you would
 “ be convinced of it ; but it is of that consequence,
 “ that I dare not do it. Therefore, Sir, I do beg
 “ of you once more to let me speak to you ; for
 “ then you will be convinced how much I shall
 “ ever be,

“ Your Majesty’s most humble and dutiful,

“ MONMOUTH.”

The only certain conclusion to be drawn from this letter, which Mr. Echard, in a manner perhaps not so seemly for a churchman, terms submissive,* is, that Monmouth still wished anxiously for life, and was willing to save it, even at the cruel price of begging and receiving it as a boon from his

* Echard, p. 771. “ His former spirit sunk into pusillanimity, and “ he meanly enleavoured, by the following submissive letter,” &c. E.

enemy. Ralph conjectures with great probability, that this unhappy man's feelings were all governed by his excessive affection for his mistress; and that a vain hope of enjoying, with Lady Harriet Wentworth, that retirement which he had so unwillingly abandoned, induced him to adopt a conduct, which he might otherwise have considered as indecent. At any rate it must be admitted, that to cling to life, is a strong instinct in human nature, and Monmouth might reasonably enough satisfy himself, that when his death could not by any possibility, benefit either the publick or his friends, to follow such instinct, even in a manner that might tarnish the splendour of heroism, was no impeachment of the moral virtue of a man.

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With respect to the mysterious part of the letter, where he speaks of *one word*, which would be of such infinite importance, it is difficult, if not rather utterly impossible, to explain it by any rational conjecture. Mr. Macpherson's favourite hypothesis, that the Prince of Orange had been a party to the late attempt, and that Monmouth's intention, when he wrote the letter, was to disclose this important fact to the King,* is totally destroyed by those expressions, in which the unfortunate prisoner tells his

A mysterious
expression in
his letter

* Macpherson's Hist.

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Not applica-
ble to the
Prince of
Orange.

Majesty he had assured the Prince and Princess of Orange that he would never stir against him. Did he assure the Prince of Orange that he would never do that which he was engaged to the Prince of Orange to do? Can it be said that this was a false fact, and that no such assurances were in truth given? To what purpose was the falsehood? In order to conceal, from motives whether honourable or otherwise, his connection with the Prince? What? a fiction in one paragraph of the letter in order to conceal a fact, which in the next he declares his intention of revealing? The thing is impossible.*

The intriguing character of the secretary of state, the Earl of Sunderland, whose duplicity in many instances cannot be doubted, and the mystery in which almost every thing relating to him is involved, might lead us to suspect that the expressions point at some discovery in which that nobleman was concerned; and that Monmouth had it in his power to be of important service to James, by revealing to him the treachery of his minister. Such a conjecture

* Even if this complete refutation were wanting, the whole system of conduct imputed to the Prince of Orange by the above-mentioned author, by which he is made to act in concert with Monmouth at this time, is so contrary to common sense, that the hypothesis never could have been offered to the belief of mankind by one whose mind was not fortified by some previous experience of their unbounded credulity.

might be strengthened by an anecdote that has had some currency, and to the truth of which in part, King James's memoirs, if the extracts from them can be relied on, bear testimony. It is said that the Duke of Monmouth told Mr. Ralph Sheldon, one of the King's chamber who came to meet him on his way to London, that he had had reason to expect Sunderland's co-operation, and authorised Sheldon to mention this to the King: that while Sheldon was relating this to his Majesty, Sunderland entered; Sheldon hesitated, but was ordered to go on. "Sunderland seemed at first struck," (as well he might whether innocent or guilty,) "but after a short time, said with a laugh, if that be all he, (Monmouth,) can discover to save his life, it will do him little good."*

It is to be remarked that in Sheldon's conversation, as alluded to by King James, the Prince of Orange's name is not even mentioned, either as connected with Monmouth or with Sunderland. But on the other hand, the difficulties that stand in the way of our interpreting Monmouth's letter as alluding to Sunderland, or of supposing that the writer of it had any well-founded accusation against that minister, are insurmountable. If he had such an accusation to make, why did he not make it? The King says expressly, both in a

* Macpherson's State Papers, I. 146.

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letter to the Prince of Orange, and in the extract from his memoirs, above cited, that Monmouth made no discovery of consequence, and the explanation suggested, that his silence was owing to Sunderland the secretary's having assured him of his pardon, seems wholly inadmissible. Such assurances could have their influence no longer than while the hope of pardon remained. Why then did he continue silent, when he found James inexorable? If he was willing to accuse the Earl before he had received these assurances, it is inconceivable that he should have any scruple about doing it when they turned out to have been delusive, and when his mind must have been exasperated by the reflection that Sunderland's perfidious promises, and self-interested suggestions, had deterred him from the only probable means of saving his life.

A third explanation.

A third, and perhaps the most plausible, interpretation of the words in question is, that they point to a discovery of Monmouth's friends in England, when, in the dejected state of his mind, at the time of writing, unmanned as he was by misfortune, he might sincerely promise what the return of better thoughts forbade him to perform. This account, however, though free from the great absurdities belonging to the two others, is by no means satisfactory. The phrase,

“one word,” seems to relate rather to some single person, or some single fact, and can hardly apply to any list of associates that might be intended to be sacrificed. On the other hand, the single denunciation of Lord Delamere, of Lord Brandon, or even of the Earl of Devonshire, or of any other private individual, could not be considered as of that extreme consequence, which Monmouth attaches to his promised disclosure. I have mentioned Lord Devonshire, who was certainly not implicated in the enterprize, and who was not even suspected, because it appears from Grey’s Narrative, that one of Monmouth’s agents had once given hopes of his support; and therefore there is a bare possibility that Monmouth may have reckoned upon his assistance. Perhaps, after all, the letter has been canvassed with too much nicety, and the words of it weighed more scrupulously, than, proper allowance being made for the situation and state of mind of the writer, they ought to have been. They may have been thrown out at hazard, merely as means to obtain an interview, of which the unhappy prisoner thought he might, in some way or other, make his advantage. If any more precise meaning existed in his mind, we must be content to pass it over as one of those obscure points of history, upon which, neither the sagacity of historians, nor the

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not satisfac-
tory.

CHAPTER many documents since made publick, nor the great
 III. discoverer, Time, has yet thrown any distinct light.

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 Unfeeling
 disposition of
 James,

Monmouth and Grey were now to be conveyed to London, for which purpose they set out on the 11th, and arrived in the vicinity of the metropolis on the 13th of July. In the mean while, the Queen Dowager, who seems to have behaved with a uniformity of kindness towards her husband's son that does her great honour, urgently pressed the King to admit his nephew to an audience. Importuned therefore by intreaties, and instigated by the curiosity which Monmouth's mysterious expressions, and Sheldon's story had excited, he consented, though with a fixed determination to shew no mercy. James was not of the number of those, in whom the want of an extensive understanding is compensated by a delicacy of sentiment, or by those right feelings, which are often found to be better guides for the conduct, than the most accurate reasoning. His nature did not revolt, his blood did not run cold, at the thoughts of beholding the son of a brother whom he had loved, embracing his knees, petitioning, and petitioning in vain, for life; of interchanging words and looks with a nephew, on whom he was inexorably determined, within forty-eight short hours, to inflict an ignominious death.

In Macpherson's extract from King James's Memoirs, it is confessed that the King ought not to have seen, if he was not disposed to pardon the culprit;* but whether the observation is made by the exiled Prince himself, or by him who gives the extract, is in this, as in many other passages of those Memoirs, difficult to determine. Surely if the King had made this reflection before Monmouth's execution, it must have occurred to that Monarch, that if he had inadvertently done that which he ought not to have done without an intention to pardon, the only remedy was to correct that part of his conduct which was still in his power, and since he could not recall the interview, to grant the pardon.

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Pursuant to this hard-hearted arrangement, Monmouth and Grey, on the very day of their arrival, were brought to Whitehall, where they had severally interviews with his Majesty. James, in a letter to the Prince of Orange, dated the following day, gives a short account of both these interviews. Monmouth, he says, betrayed a weakness, which did not become one who had claimed the title of King; but made no discovery of consequence. Grey was more ingenuous,+ (it is not certain in what sense his Majesty

His interview
with Mon-
mouth,
July 13th.

* Macpherson's State Papers, I. 144. + Dalrymple's Memoirs, II. 134.

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uses the term, since he does not refer to any discovery made by that Lord,) and never once begged his life. Short as this account is, it seems the only authentick one of those interviews. Bishop Kennet, who has been followed by most of the modern historians, relates, that “ This unhappy captive, by the
 “ intercession of the Queen Dowager, was brought
 “ to the King’s presence, and fell presently at his
 “ feet, and confessed he deserved to die; but conjured him, with tears in his eyes, not to use him
 “ with the severity of justice, and to grant him a
 “ life, which he would be ever ready to sacrifice
 “ for his service. He mentioned to him the example
 “ of several great princes, who had yielded to the
 “ impressions of clemency on the like occasions,
 “ and who had never afterwards repented of those
 “ acts of generosity and mercy; concluding, in a
 “ most pathetic manner, Remember, Sir, I am
 “ your brother’s son, and if you take my life, it is
 “ your own blood that you will shed. The King
 “ asked him several questions, and made him sign
 “ a declaration that his father told him he was never
 “ married to his mother: and then said, he was
 “ sorry indeed for his misfortunes; but his crime
 “ was of too great a consequence to be left unpunished, and he must of necessity suffer for it.

“ The Queen is said to have insulted him in a very
 “ arrogant and unmerciful manner. So that when
 “ the Duke saw there was nothing designed by this
 “ interview, but to satisfy the Queen’s revenge, he
 “ rose up from his Majesty’s feet with a new air of
 “ bravery, and was carried back to the Tower.”*

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The topicks used by Monmouth are such as he might naturally have employed, and the demeanour attributed to him, upon finding the King inexorable, is consistent enough with general probability, and his particular character: but that the King took care to extract from him a confession of Charles’s declaration with respect to his illegitimacy, before he announced his final refusal of mercy, and that the Queen was present for the purpose of reviling and insulting him, are circumstances too atrocious to merit belief, without some more certain evidence. It must be remarked also, that Burnet, whose general prejudices would not lead him to doubt any imputations against the Queen, does not mention her Majesty’s being present. Monmouth’s offer of changing religion is mentioned by him, but no authority quoted; and no hint of the kind appears either in James’s Letters, or in the extract from his Memoirs.

From Whitehall Monmouth was at night carried
 to the Tower, where, no longer uncertain as to his

Monmouth’s
 execution
 fixed.

* Kennet, III. 432. Echard, III. 771.

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fate, he seems to have collected his mind, and to have resumed his wonted fortitude. The Bill of Attainder that had lately passed, having superseded the necessity of a legal trial, his execution was fixed for the next day but one after his commitment. This interval appeared too short even for the worldly business which he wished to transact, and he wrote again to the King on the 14th, desiring some short respite, which was peremptorily refused. The difficulty of obtaining any certainty concerning facts, even in instances where there has not been any apparent motive for disguising them, is no where more striking than in the few remaining hours of this unfortunate man's life. According to King James's statement in his Memoirs, he refused to see his wife, while other accounts assert positively that she refused to see him, unless in presence of witnesses. Burnet, who was not likely to be mistaken in a fact of this kind, says they did meet, and parted very coldly, a circumstance, which, if true, gives us no very favourable idea of the lady's character. There is also mention of a third letter written by him to the King, which being entrusted to a perfidious officer of the name of Scott, never reached its destination;* but for this there is no foundation. What seems most certain is, that in the Tower, and

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, I. 127.

not in the closet, he signed a paper, renouncing his pretensions to the crown, the same which he afterwards delivered on the scaffold; and that he was inclined to make this declaration, not by any vain hope of life, but by his affection for his children, whose situation he rightly judged would be safer and better under the reigning monarch and his successors, when it should be evident that they could no longer be competitors for the Throne.

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Monmouth was very sincere in his religious professions, and it is probable that a great portion of this sad day was passed in devotion and religious discourse with the two prelates, who had been sent by his Majesty to assist him in his spiritual concerns. Turner, Bishop of Ely, had been with him early in the morning, and Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was sent, upon the refusal of a respite, to prepare him for the stroke, which it was now irrevocably fixed he should suffer the ensuing day. They stayed with him all night, and in the morning of the fifteenth were joined by Dr. Hooper, afterwards, in the reign of Anne, made Bishop of Bath and Wells, and by Dr. Tennison, who succeeded Tillotson in the see of Canterbury. This last divine is stated by Burnet to have been most acceptable to the Duke, and though he joined the others in some harsh expostulations,

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for death.

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to have done, what the right reverend historian conceives to have been his duty, in a softer and less peremptory manner. Certain it is, that none of these holy men seem to have erred on the side of compassion or complaisance to their illustrious penitent. Besides endeavouring to convince him of the guilt of his connection with his beloved Lady Harriet, of which he could never be brought to a due sense, they seem to have repeatedly teased him with controversy, and to have been far more solicitous to make him profess what they deemed the true creed of the church of England, than to soften or console his sorrows, or to help him to that composure of mind so necessary for his situation. He declared himself to be a member of their church, but they denied that he could be so, unless he thoroughly believed the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. He repented generally of his sins, and especially of his late enterprize, but they insisted that he must repent of it in the way they prescribed to him, that he must own it to have been a wicked resistance to his lawful King, and a detestable act of rebellion.* Some historians have imputed this seemingly cruel conduct to the King's particular instructions, who might be desirous of extracting, or rather extorting, from the lips

* Burnet, II. 330. Echard, III. 772.

of his dying nephew, such a confession as would be matter of triumph to the Royal cause. But the character of the two prelates principally concerned, both for general uprightness, and sincerity as church of England men, makes it more candid to suppose, that they did not act from motives of servile compliance, but rather from an intemperate party zeal for the honour of their church, which they judged would be signally promoted, if such a man as Monmouth, after having throughout his life acted in defiance of their favourite doctrine, could be brought in his last moments to acknowledge it as a divine truth. It must never be forgotten, if we would understand the history of this period, that the truly orthodox members of our church regarded monarchy not as a human, but as a divine institution, and passive obedience, and non-resistance, not as political maxims, but as articles of religion.

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III.Circumstances of his
execution.

At ten o'clock on the 15th, Monmouth proceeded in a carriage of the Lieutenant of the Tower, to Tower-Hill, the place destined for his execution. The two bishops were in the carriage with him, and one of them took that opportunity of informing him, that their controversial altercations were not yet at an end; and that upon the scaffold, he would again be pressed for more explicit and satisfactory declarations

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of repentance. When arrived at the bar, which had been put up for the purpose of keeping out the multitude, Monmouth descended from the carriage, and mounted the scaffold, with a firm step, attended by his spiritual assistants. The sheriffs and executioners were already there. The concourse of spectators was innumerable, and if we are to credit traditional accounts, never was the general compassion more affectingly expressed. The tears, sighs, and groans, which the first sight of this heart-rending spectacle produced, were soon succeeded by an universal and awful silence; a respectful attention, and affectionate anxiety, to hear every syllable that should pass the lips of the sufferer. The Duke began by saying he should speak little; he came to die, and he should die a Protestant of the church of England. Here he was interrupted by the assistants, and told, that, if he was of the church of England, he must acknowledge the doctrine of Non-resistance to be true. In vain did he reply that if he acknowledged the doctrine of the church in general, it included all: they insisted he should own *that* doctrine particularly with respect to his case, and urged much more concerning their favourite point, upon which, however, they obtained nothing but a repetition in substance of former answers. He was then proceeding

Persecuted
by his reli-
gious assis-
tants.

to speak of Lady Harriet Wentworth, of his high esteem for her, and of his confirmed opinion that their connection was innocent in the sight of God; when Goslin, the sheriff, asked him, with all the unfeeling bluntness of a vulgar mind, whether he was ever married to her. The Duke refusing to answer, the same magistrate, in the like strain, though changing his subject, said he hoped to have heard of his repentance for the treason and bloodshed which had been committed; to which the prisoner replied with great mildness, that he died very penitent. Here the churchmen again interposed, and renewing their demand of *particular* penitence and *public* acknowledgment upon publick affairs, Monmouth referred them to the following paper which he had signed that morning:

“ I declare, that the title of King was forced upon
 “ me; and, that it was very much contrary to my
 “ opinion, when I was proclaimed. For the satis-
 “ faction of the world, I do declare, that the late
 “ King told me, he was never married to my mother.
 “ Having declared this, I hope the King, who is
 “ now, will not let my children suffer on this ac-
 “ count. And to this I put my hand this fifteenth day
 “ of July, 1685. MONMOUTH.”

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There was nothing, they said, in that paper about resistance; nor, though Monmouth, quite worn out with their importunities, said to one of them, in the most affecting manner, “ I am to die,—Pray my Lord,—” “ I refer to my paper;” would those men think it consistent with their duty to desist. They were only a few words they desired on one point. The substance of these applications on one hand, and answers on the other, was repeated, over and over again, in a manner that could not be believed, if the facts were not attested by the signature of the persons principally concerned.* If the Duke, in declaring his sorrow for what had passed, used the word invasion, “ give it the true name,” said they, “ and “ call it rebellion.” “ What name you please,” replied the mild-tempered Monmouth. He was sure he was going to everlasting happiness, and considered the serenity of his mind in his present circumstances, as a certain earnest of the favour of his Creator. His repentance, he said, must be true, for he had no fear of dying, he should die like a lamb. “ Much may come from natural courage,” was the unfeeling and stupid reply of one of the assistants. Monmouth, with that modesty inseparable from true bravery, denied that he was in general less fearful than other men, maintaining that his present courage

* Vide Somers's Tracts, I. 435.

was owing to his consciousness that God had forgiven him his past transgressions, of all which generally he repented with all his soul.

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At last the reverend assistants consented to join with him in prayer, but no sooner were they risen from their kneeling posture, than they returned to their charge. Not satisfied with what had passed, they exhorted him to a *true* and *thorough* repentance: would he not pray for the King? and send a dutiful message to his Majesty, to recommend the Dutchess and his children? “As you please,” was the reply; “I pray “for him and for all men.” He now spoke to the executioner, desiring that he might have no cap over his eyes, and began undressing. One would have thought that in this last sad ceremony, the poor prisoner might have been unmolested, and that the divines would have been satisfied, that prayer was the only part of their function for which their duty now called upon them. They judged differently, and one of them had the fortitude to request the Duke, even in this stage of the business, that he would address himself to the soldiers then present, to tell them he stood a sad example of rebellion, and entreat the people to be loyal and obedient to the King, “I “have said I will make no speeches,” repeated Monmouth, in a tone more peremptory than he had

CHAPTER before been provoked to ; “ I will make no speeches.
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“ enough,” said the persevering divine, to which
the Duke made no answer, but turning to the execu-
tioner, expressed a hope that he would do his work
better now than in the case of Lord Russel. He then
felt the axe, which he apprehended was not sharp
enough, but being assured that it was of proper
sharpness and weight, he laid down his head. In
the meantime, many fervent ejaculations were used
by the reverend assistants, who, it must be observed,
even in these moments of horror, showed them-
selves not unmindful of the points upon which they
had been disputing; praying God to accept his
imperfect and *general* repentance.

The executioner now struck the blow, but so feebly
or unskilfully, that Monmouth, being but slightly
wounded, lifted up his head, and looked him in the
face as if to upbraid him, but said nothing. The
two following strokes were as ineffectual as the first,
and the headsman in a fit of horror, declared he
could not finish his work. The sheriffs threatened
him; he was forced again to make a further trial, and
in two more strokes separated the head from the
body.

Thus fell, in the thirty-sixth year of his age,

James Duke of Monmouth, a man against whom all that has been said by the most inveterate enemies both to him and his party, amounts to little more than this, that he had not a mind equal to the situations in which his ambition, at different times, engaged him to place himself. But to judge him with candour, we must make great allowances, not only for the temptations into which he was led by the splendid prosperity of the earlier parts of his life, but also for the adverse prejudices with which he was regarded by almost all the cotemporary writers, from whom his actions and character are described. The Tories of course are unfavourable to him; and even among the Whigs, there seems, in many, a strong inclination to disparage him; some to excuse themselves for not having joined him; others to make a display of their exclusive attachment to their more successful leader, King William. Burnet says of Monmouth, that he was gentle, brave, and sincere: to these praises, from the united testimony of all who knew him, we may add that of generosity; and surely those qualities go a great way in making up the catalogue of all that is amiable and estimable in human nature. One of the most conspicuous features in his character, seems to have been a remarkable, and, as some think, a culpable degree of flexibility.

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That such a disposition is preferable to its opposite extreme, will be admitted by all who think that modesty, even in excess, is more nearly allied to wisdom than conceit and self-sufficiency. He who has attentively considered the political, or indeed the general, concerns of life, may possibly go still further, and rank a willingness to be convinced, or in some cases even without conviction, to concede our own opinion to that of other men, among the principal ingredients in the composition of practical wisdom. Monmouth had suffered this flexibility, so laudable in many cases, to degenerate into a habit, which made him often follow the advice, or yield to the entreaties, of persons whose characters by no means entitled them to such deference. The sagacity of Shaftesbury, the honour of Russel, the genius of Sidney, might, in the opinion of a modest man, be safe and eligible guides. The partiality of friendship, and the conviction of his firm attachment, might be some excuse for his listening so much to Grey; but he never could, at any period of his life, have mistaken Ferguson for an honest man. There is reason to believe, that the advice of the two last mentioned persons had great weight in persuading him to the unjustifiable step of declaring himself King. But far the most guilty act of this unfortunate man's life,

was his lending his name to the Declaration which was published at Lyme, and in this instance, Ferguson, who penned the paper, was both the adviser and the instrument. To accuse the King of having burnt London, murdered Essex in the Tower, and finally, poisoned his brother, unsupported by evidence to substantiate such dreadful charges, was calumny of the most atrocious kind; but the guilt is still heightened, when we observe, that from no conversation of Monmouth, nor indeed from any other circumstance whatever, do we collect that he himself believed the horrid accusations to be true. With regard to Essex's death in particular, the only one of the three charges which was believed by any man of common sense, the late King was as much implicated in the suspicion as James. That the latter should have dared to be concerned in such an act, without the privacy of his brother, was too absurd an imputation to be attempted, even in the days of the Popish plot. On the other hand, it was certainly not the intention of the son to brand his father as an assassin. It is too plain, that in the instance of this Declaration, Monmouth, with a facility highly criminal, consented to set his name to whatever Ferguson recommended as advantageous to the cause. Among the many dreadful circumstances attending

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civil wars, perhaps there are few more revolting to a good mind, than the wicked calumnies with which, in the heat of contention, men, otherwise men of honour, have in all ages and countries permitted themselves to load their adversaries. It is remarkable that there is no trace of the Divines who attended this unfortunate man, having exhorted him to a particular repentance of his Manifesto, or having called for a retraction or disavowal of the accusations contained in it. They were so intent upon points more immediately connected with orthodoxy of faith, that they omitted pressing their penitent to the only declaration, by which he could make any satisfactory atonement to those whom he had injured.

FRAGMENTS.

The following detached Paragraphs were probably intended for the Fourth Chapter. They are here printed in the incomplete and unfinished state in which they were found.

WHILE the Whigs considered all religious opinions 1685.
with a view to politicks, the Tories, on the other hand, referred all political maxims to religion. Thus the former, even in their hatred to Popery, did not so much regard the superstition, or imputed idolatry of that unpopular sect, as its tendency to establish arbitrary power in the state, while the latter revered absolute monarchy as a divine institution, and cherished the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, as articles of religious faith.

To mark the importance of the late events, his Majesty caused two medals to be struck; one of himself, with the usual inscription, and the motto, *Aras et sceptrum tuemur*; the other of Monmouth, without any inscription. On the reverse of the former, were represented the two headless trunks of his lately vanquished enemies, with other circumstances in the same taste and spirit, the motto, *Ambitio malesuada ruit*: on that of the latter appeared a young man

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falling in the attempt to climb a rock with three crowns on it, under which was the insulting motto, *Superi risere.*

With the lives of Monmouth and Argyle ended, or at least seemed to end, all prospect of resistance to James's absolute power; and that class of patriots who feel the pride of submission, and the dignity of obedience, might be completely satisfied that the Crown was in its full lustre.

James was sufficiently conscious of the increased strength of his situation, and it is probable that the security he now felt in his power, inspired him with the design of taking more decided steps in favour of the Popish religion and its professors, than his connection with the Church of England party had before allowed him to entertain. That he from this time attached less importance to the support and affection of the Tories, is evident from Lord Rochester's observations, communicated afterwards to Burnet. This nobleman's abilities and experience in business, his hereditary merit, as son of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and his uniform opposition to the Exclusion Bill, had raised him high in the esteem of the Church party. This circumstance, perhaps, as much, or more than the King's personal

kindness to a brother-in-law, had contributed to his advancement to the first office in the state. As long therefore as James stood in need of the support of the party, as long as he meant to make them the instruments of his power, and the channels of his favour, Rochester was, in every respect, the fittest person in whom to confide; and accordingly, as that nobleman related to Burnet, his Majesty honoured him with daily confidential communications upon all his most secret schemes and projects. But upon the defeat of the rebellion, an immediate change took place, and from the day of Monmouth's execution, the King confined his conversations with the Treasurer to the mere business of his office.

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APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

- I. Correspondence between Louis XIV. and M. Barillon on English Affairs, from Dec. 1584, to Dec. 1585.
 - II. Correspondence between the Earl of Sunderland and the Bishop of Oxford, respecting Mr. Locke.
 - III. The Bill for the Preservation of the King's Person.
 - IV. Account of Rumbold, from Lord Fountainhall's MS. Memoirs, &c.
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APPENDIX.

I. CORRESPONDENCE *between* LOUIS XIV. and M. BARILLON.

M. de Barillon au Roi.

7 *Decembre*, 1684, à *Londres*.

J'AY reçu la dépêche de Votre Majesté du premier Decembre. J'ay commencé à exécuter l'ordre que V. M. me donne à l'égard de Milord Halifax. Il s'est passé ici depuis peu une affaire qui a déjà donné occasion à M. le Duc de York, et aux autres ministres, de travailler à le décréditer entièrement avec quelque espérance d'en venir à bout.

Le Roi d'Angleterre a donné le gouvernement de la Nouvelle Angleterre au Colonel Kerque, qui étoit auparavant gouverneur de Tanger. Il y avoit eu devant une Compagnie établie par des lettres patentes du Roi Jacques, qui gouvernoit avec une autorité presque souveraine et indépendante les pays compris sous le gouvernement de la Nouvelle Angleterre. Les privilèges de cette Compagnie ont été cassés au Banc Royal, et sa Majesté Britannique est rentrée dans le pouvoir de donner une nouvelle forme au gouvernement, et d'établir de nouvelles loix, sous lesquelles les habitans de ces pays doivent vivre à l'avenir; cela a donné lieu à une délibération dans le Conseil secret. La question a été traitée à fonds, si l'on y introduiroit le même gouvernement qui est établi en Angleterre, ou si l'on assujétiroit ceux qui vivent dans ces pays-là aux ordres d'un gouverneur et d'un con-

seil, qui auroient en leurs mains toute l'autorité, sans être obligés à garder d'autres regles, que celles qui leur seroient prescrites d'ici. Milord Halifax a pris le party de soutenir avec véhémence qu'il n'y avoit point lieu de douter que les mêmes loix, sous lesquelles on vit en Angleterre ne dussent être établies en un pays composé d'Anglois. Il s'est fort étendu sur cela, et n'a omis aucune des raisons, par lesquelles on peut prouver, qu'un gouvernement absolu, n'est ni si heureux, ni si assuré que celui, qui est temperé par les loix, et qui donne des bornes à l'autorité du Prince. Il a exagéré les inconvéniens du pouvoir souverain, et s'est déclaré nettement qu'il ne pouvoit pas s'accommoder de vivre sous un roi qui auroit en son pouvoir de prendre, quand il lui plairoit, l'argent qu'il a dans sa poche. Ce discours fut combattu fortement par tous les autres ministres, et sans entrer dans la question, si une forme de gouvernement en général est meilleure que l'autre, ils soutinrent, que sa Majesté Britannique pouvoit, et devoit, gouverner des pays si éloignés de l'Angleterre en la manière qui lui paroîtroit la plus convenable pour maintenir le pays, en l'état auquel il est, et pour en augmenter encore les forces et la richesse. Pour cela il fut résolu, qu'on n'assujetteroit point le gouverneur et le conseil, à faire des assemblées de tout le pays, pour faire des impositions, et régler les autres matières importantes, mais que le gouverneur et le conseil feroit ce qu'ils jugeroient à-propos, sans en rendre compte qu'à sa Majesté Britannique. Cette affaire n'est peut-être pas en elle-même fort importante; mais M. le Duc d'York s'en est servi, pour faire connoître au Roi d'Angleterre combien il y a d'inconvéniens de laisser dans le secret de ses affaires un homme aussi opposé aux intérêts de la royauté qu'est Milord Halifax. Madame de Portsmouth a le même dessein, et Milord Sonderland pouvoit ne rien desirer avec plus d'ardeur. Ils croient l'un et l'autre y pouvoir réussir avec un peu de temps.

M. le Duc d'York m'a dit en confiance, que le Roi son frère avoit résolu de l'envoyer au printemps faire un voyage de trois semaines en Ecosse, pour y tenir une assemblée de Parlement, sans lequel on ne peut confisquer les biens de ceux qui sont déclarés rebelles; que ce sera à-peu-près pendant que la cour demeurera à Neumarquet; que cependant il a cru m'en devoir avertir de bonne heure, sachant bien que ses ennemis tâcheroient de

donner à ce voyage un air de disgrâce, quoique dans le fond, ce soit une nouvelle marque de confiance et d'amitié du Roi son frère pour lui. Le Marquis de Huntley, chef de la maison de Gourdon, a été fait Duc, et le Marquis de Winsbery aussi ; ce dernier est de la maison de Douglas, et grand trésorier d'Ecosse. Ce n'est pas une chose de petite conséquence que le Marquis de Huntley, qui est Catholique, soit fait Duc.

Le Roi à M. Barillon.

Versailles, 13 Decembre, 1684.

LES raisonnemens du Sr. Halifax sur la manière de gouverner la Nouvelle Angleterre ne meritent guères la confiance que le Roy d'Angleterre a en luy, et je ne suis pas surpris d'apprendre que le Duc d'York en ayt bien fait remarquer les conséquences au Roy son frère. J'ay lieu de croire aussy que ce que ce Prince doit faire en Ecosse n'apportera aucun changement à l'état présent des affaires d'Angleterre, et je suis bien aise de [sçavoir] que ce soit plutôt une m. rque de la confiance du Roy son frère, qu'un dessein de l'éloigner de ses conseils.

London, 21 December, 1684.

* BARILLON says the Duchess of P. tells him the King waited till Halifax gave him some further pretext for dismissing him, but that he represented to them the danger of delay. They had no apprehensions of Halifax's altering his conduct, and regaining the King's confidence.

M. de Barillon au Roi

25 Decembre, 1684, à Londres.

LE Roi d'Angleterre me paroît aussi mal satisfait que jamais de la conduite de M. le Prince d'Orange. M. Zitters lui a donné une lettre de sa part, par laquelle il l'assure en termes généraux, qu'il s'estime bien malheureux

* This is printed from a note in Mr. Fox's hand writing.

d'avoir perdu ses bonnes graces, sachant bien n'avoir rien fait qui dût lui déplaire. M. Zitters a ajouté à cela, que M. le Prince d'Orange étoit fort affligé que ses ennemis eussent eu le crédit de le mettre aussi mal qu'il est dans l'esprit de sa Majesté Britannique, sans qu'il se puisse reprocher d'avoir rien fait qu'il scût être opposé à sa volonté, ou à ses intentions. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a fait entendre, que sa reponse à M. Zitters a été, que M. le Prince d'Orange se moquoit de lui, aussi bien que de M. Zitters, en le chargeant de dire des choses, qu'il sait n'avoir aucun fondement; que M. le Prince d'Orange n'avoit point d'ennemis dans sa cour, qui eussent pris soin de lui nuire, mais que lui-même avoit fait tout ce qu'il falloit pour cela, s'étant conduit d'une manière fort opposée, à ce qu'il devoit, tant à l'égard des affaires générales qu'à l'égard de M. le Duc de Monmouth, et des autres factieux. M. Zitters a essayé d'excuser ce que M. le Prince d'Orange a fait à l'égard de M. le Duc de Monmouth : sa Majesté Britannique s'en est moquée, et lui a dit, que M. le Prince d'Orange étoit plus habile que personne, puis qu'il savoit si bien menager un homme, dont les desseins ne pouvoient aller qu'à établir une republique en Angleterre, ou à soutenir des pretentions chimériques, et qui ne peuvent réussir sans la ruine de M. le Prince d'Orange lui-même. L'intention du Roi d'Angleterre étoit, à ce que j'en puis juger, de couper encore plus court l'entretien avec M. de Zitters, mais cela repugne à son humeur. M. le Duc de York a parlé fort decidivement à M. Zitters, et ne lui a pas donné lieu de deffendre la conduite de M. le Prince d'Orange. M. Zitters a dit à Milord Sunderland, que M. le Prince d'Orange vouloit faire tout ce qui étoit en son pouvoir pour rentrer dans les bonnes graces du Roi d'Angleterre, et de M. le Duc de York. Qu'il falloit seulement lui faire connoître ce qu'il devoit faire pour cela; Milord Sunderland repondit, que ce n'étoit pas d'ici qu'il devoit attendre des instructions, et qu'il savoit assez, ce qui avoit pû déplaire au Roi d'Angleterre dans sa conduite, pour y apporter du changement, s'il en avoit envie.

J'ay sçu de M. le Duc d'York, qu'en parlant de tout cela avec le Roi d'Angleterre, et ses ministres les plus confidens, Milord Sunderland avoit dit qu'il est de la dignité, et de l'intérêt de sa Majesté Britannique de laisser M. le Prince d'Orange prendre de lui-même le party qu'il jugera apropos,

sans lui rien prescrire, ni même témoigner qu'on attende rien de lui ; qu'après avoir, pendant trois ans, fait tout ce qui étoit en son pouvoir, contre les intérêts et les desseins du Roi d'Angleterre, il ne devoit pas croire, que ce qu'il a fait fût réparé par des complimens ; qu'on ne peut marquer à présent en quoi il pourroit témoigner sa bonne volonté et son zèle ; qu'il faut peut-être beaucoup de temps pour en trouver les occasions ; et que tout ce qu'il peut espérer est, que le Roi d'Angleterre veuille bien considérer qu'elle sera sa conduite à l'avenir ; que cependant on ne sauroit parler trop peu et trop décidivement à M. Zitters sur une telle matière. Ce sentiment a été approuvé de sa Majesté Britannique, et il a été résolu qu'on n'écouterait pas seulement M. Zitters, s'il vouloit en parler encore.

On parle fort ici depuis deux jours de la sédition arrivée à Brussels, et de la manière, dont elle a été apaisée par le Marquis de Grave, c'est-à-dire, en cédant entièrement au peuple. Le Roi d'Angleterre en a parlé comme d'un exemple de très-pernicieuse conséquence, et qui porteroit indubitablement les autres villes du Pays Bas à faire la même chose, voyant qu'elle demeure impunie et récompensée à Brussels.

Dépêche de M. Barillon au Roy.

LA lettre que je me donne l'honneur d'écrire aujourd'hui à votre Majesté est seulement pour lui rendre un compte exact de ce qui s'est passé de plus important à la mort du feu Roy d'Angleterre. Sa maladie, qui commença le Lundi 12 Février au matin, reçut divers changemens les jours suivans, quelquefois on le croioit hors de danger, et ensuite il arrivoit quelque accident qui faisoit juger que son mal étoit mortel : enfin le Jeudi quinzème Février, sur le midi, je fus averti d'un bon endroit qu'il n'y avoit plus d'espérance, et que les médecins ne croioient pas qu'il dût passer la nuit ; j'allai aussitôt après à Whitehall ; M. le Duc d'York avoit donné ordre aux officiers qui gardoient la porte de l'antichambre de me laisser passer à toute heure ; il étoit toujours dans la chambre du Roy son frère, et en sortoit de tems en tems pour donner les ordres sur tout ce qui se passoit dans la ville ; le bruit se repandoit plusieurs fois par jour que le Roy

étoit mort : d'abord que je fus arrivé, Monsieur le Duc d'York me dit, " Les médecins croient que le Roy est en un extrême danger ; je vous prie d'assurer votre maître qu'il aura toujours en moi un serviteur fidèle et reconnoissant." Je fus jusqu'à cinq heures dans l'antichambre du Roy d'Angleterre ; Monsieur le Duc d'York me fit entrer plusieurs fois dans la chambre, et me parloit de ce qui se passoit au-dehors, et des assurances qu'on lui donnoit de tous côtés que tout étoit fort tranquille dans la ville, et qu'il y seroit proclamé Roy au moment que le Roy son frère seroit mort. Je sortis pendant quelque tems pour aller à l'appartement de Madame de Portsmouth ; je la trouvai dans une douleur extrême ; les médecins lui avoient ôté toute sorte d'espérance ; cependant, au lieu de me parler de sa douleur, et de la perte qu'elle étoit sur le point de faire, elle entra dans un petit cabinet, et me dit, " Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, je m'en vais vous dire le plus grand secret du monde, et il iroit de ma tête si on le savoit : Le Roy d'Angleterre dans le fonds de son cœur est Catholique, mais il est environné des évêques Protestans, et personne ne lui dit l'état où il est, ni ne lui parle de Dieu ; je ne puis plus avec bienséance rentrer dans la chambre, outre que la Reine y est presque toujours ; Monsieur le Duc d'York songe à ses affaires, et en a trop, pour prendre le soin qu'il devoit de la conscience du Roy ; allez lui dire, que je vous ai conjuré de l'avertir qu'il songe à ce qui se pourra faire pour sauver l'âme du Roi ; il est le maître dans la chambre ; il peut faire sortir qui il voudra ; ne perdez point de tems, car si on diffère tant soit peu, il sera trop tard."

Je retournai à l'instant trouver Monsieur le Duc d'York ; je le priai de faire semblant d'aller chez la Reine, qui étoit sortie de la chambre du Roy, et qu'on venoit de saigner, parcequ'elle s'étoit évanouie : la chambre commune aux deux appartemens ; je le suivis chez la Reine, et je lui dis ce que Madame de Portsmouth m'avoit dit. Il revint comme d'une profonde lethargie, et me dit, " Vous avez raison ; il n'y a pas de tems à perdre ; je hazarderai tout plustôt que de ne pas faire mon devoir en cette occasion." Une heure après il revint me trouver, sous pretexte encore d'aller chez la Reine, et me dit, qu'il avoit parlé au Roy son frère, et qu'il l'avoit trouvé résolu de ne point prendre la cène que les évêques Protestans le pressaient de recevoir ; que cela les avoit fort surpris, mais qu'il en de-

meureroit toujours quelqu'uns d'eux dans sa chambre, s'il ne prenoit un prétexte de faire sortir tout le monde, afin de pouvoir parler au Roi son frère avec liberté, et le disposer à faire une abjuration formelle de l'hérésie, et à se confesser à un prestre Catholique.

Nous agitames divers expédiens ; M. le Duc d'York proposa que je demandasse à parler au Roi son frere, pour lui dire quelque chose de secret de la part de votre Majesté. et qu'on feroit sortir tout le monde. Je m'offris à le faire ; mais je lui représentai qu'outre que cela causeroit un grand bruit, il n'y auroit pas d'apparence de me faire demeurer en particulier avec le Roy d'Angleterre et lui seul, assez longtems pour ce que nous avions à faire. La pensée vint ensuite à M. le Duc d'York, de faire venir la Reine, comme pour dire un dernier adieu au Roy, et lui demander pardon si elle lui avoit desobéi en quelque chose ; que lui feroit aussi la même cérémonie. Enfin M. le Duc d'York se résolut de parler au Roi son frère devant tout le monde, mais de faire ensorte que personne n'entendrait ce qu'il lui diroit, parceque cela ôteroit tout soupçon, et on croiroit seulement qu'il lui parleroit d'affaires d'état, et de ce qu'il vouloit qui fût fait après sa mort ; ainsi, sans autre plus grande précaution, le Duc d'York se pencha à l'oreille du Roi son frère, après avoir ordonné que personne n'approchât : j'étois dans la chambre, et plus de vingt personnes à la porte, qui étoit ouverte, on n'entendoit pas ce que disoit M. le Duc d'York ; mais le Roy d'Angleterre disoit de tems en tems fort haut, *Oui, de tout mon cœur* ; il faisoit quelque fois répéter M. le Duc d'York ce qu'il disoit, parcequ'il n'entendoit pas aisément ; cela dura près d'un quart d'heure ; M. le Duc d'York sortit encore comme pour aller chez la Reine, et me dit ; “ Le Roy consent que je lui fasse venir un prestre ; je n'ose faire venir aucun de ceux de la Duchesse, ils sont trop connus ; envoyez en chercher un vistement.” Je lui dis, que je le ferois de tout mon cœur, mais que je croiois que l'on perdrait trop de tems, et que je venois de voir tous les prêtres de la Reine dans un cabinet proche de sa chambre. Il me dit, Vous avez raison ; il apperçût en même tems le Comte de Castelmelhor, qui embrassa avec chaleur la proposition que je lui fis, et se chargea de parler à la Reine ; il revint à l'instant ; et me dit, “ Quand je hazarderois ma tête en cecy, je le ferois avec joie, cependant je ne sçais aucun prêtre

de la Reine qui entende l'Anglois, et qui le parle." Sur cela nous résolûmes d'envoyer chez le Resident de Venise chercher un prêtre Anglois ; mais parceque le tems pressoit, le Comte de Castelmelhor alla où étoient les prêtres de la Reine, et y trouva parmi eux un prêtre Ecossois, nommé Hudelston, qui sauva le Roi d'Angleterre après la bataille de Vorchester, et qui a été excepté par acte du parlement de toutes les loix faites contre les Catholiques, et contre les prêtres ; on lui donna une peruque et une casaque pour le déguiser, et le Comte de Castelmelhor le conduisit à la porte d'un appartement qui répond par un petit degré à la chambre du Roy ; M. le Duc d'York, que j'avois averti que tout étoit prest, envoya Chiffins recevoir et conduire le Sieur Hudelston : ensuite il dit tout haut, " Messieurs, le Roy veut que tout le monde se retire à la reserve du Comte de Baths, et du Comte de Feversham." L'un est le premier des gentils-hommes de la chambre, et le second étoit en semaine et servoit actuellement. Les médecins entrèrent dans un cabinet dont on ferma la porte ; et Chiffin amena le Sieur Hudelston : M. le Duc d'York, en le lui présentant, lui dit, " Sire, voici un homme qui vous à sauvé la vie, et qui vient à cette heure pour sauver votre âme." Le Roy répondit, qu'il soit le bien venu ; ensuite il se confessa avec de grands sentimens de dévotion et de repentir. Le Comte de Castelmelhor avoit pris soin de faire instruire Hudelston par un religieux Portugais Carme déchaussé, de ce qu'il avoit à dire au Roi en une telle occasion, parceque de lui-même ce n'étoit pas un grand docteur : mais M. le Duc d'York m'a dit qu'il s'acquitta fort bien de sa fonction, et qu'il fit formellement promettre au Roi d'Angleterre, de se déclarer ouvertement Catholique s'il revenoit en santé : ensuite il reçût l'absolution, communia, et reçût même l'extrême onction. Tout cela dura environ trois quarts d'heure. Chacun se regardoit dans l'antichambre, et personne ne se disoit rien que des yeux et à l'oreille. La présence de Milord Baths et de Milord Feversham, qui sont Protestans, a un peu rassuré les évêques ; cependant les femmes de la Reine, et les autres prêtres, ont vu tant d'allées et de venues, que je ne pense pas que le secret puisse être longtems gardé.

Depuis que le Roi d'Angleterre eut communiqué, il y eut un léger amendement à son mal. Il est constant qu'il parloit plus intelligiblement, et qu'il avoit plus de force ; nous espérions déjà que Dieu avoit voulu faire un

miracle en le guérissant ; mais les médecins jugèrent que le mal n'étoit point diminué, et que le Roy ne passeroit pas la nuit : cependant il paroissoit beaucoup plus tranquille, et parloit avec plus de sens et de connoissance qu'il n'avoit encore fait, depuis dix heures du soir jusqu'à huit heures du matin. Il parla plusieurs fois tout haut à M. le Duc d'York avec des termes pleins de tendresse et d'amitié ; il lui recommanda deux fois Madame de Portsmouth et le Duc de Richemont ; il lui recommanda aussi tous ses autres enfans ; il ne fit aucune mention de M. le Duc de Monmouth, ni en bien ni en mal : il temoignoit souvent sa confiance en la miséricorde de Dieu. L'évesque de Baths et de Vels, qui étoit son prédicateur, faisoit quelques prières, et lui parloit de Dieu ; le Roy d'Angleterre marquoit de la tête qu'il l'entendoit : cet évesque ne s'ingéra pas de lui dire rien de particulier, ni de lui proposer de faire une profession de foi ; il appréhendoit un refus, et craignoit encore plus, à ce que je crois, d'irriter M. le Duc d'York :

Le Roy d'Angleterre conserva toute la nuit une entière connoissance, et parla de toutes choses avec un grand calme ; il demanda à six heures, qu'elle heure il étoit, et dit, Faites ouvrir les rideaux afin que je voye encore le jour ; il souffroit de grandes douleurs, et on le saigna à sept heures dans l'opinion que cela adouciroit ses douleurs ; il commença à huit heures et demie à ne plus parler que très-difficilement ; et sur les dix heures, il n'avoit plus aucune connoissance ; il mourut à midi sans aucun effort ni convulsion. Le nouveau Roi se retira à son appartement, et fut reconnu unanimement, et ensuite proclamé.

J'ai cru devoir rendre un compte exacte à votre Majesté du détail de ce qui s'est passé dans cette occasion, et je m'estime bien heureux que Dieu m'eût fait la grace d'y avoir quelque part. Je suis, &c.

M. Barillon au Roi.

19 Fevrier, 1685.

J'INFORMAI votre Majesté, le seizième hier au soir, par un courier exprès, de la mort du Roy d'Angleterre, et que le Duc d'York avoit été reconnu et proclamé Roi sans aucun trouble ni opposition. Le nouveau Roi d'An-

gleterre alla dans la chambre du conseil, un quart d'heure après la mort du Roi son frère. Le Garde des Sceaux d'Angleterre, le Garde du Sceau Privé, et les deux Secretaires d'Etat lui remirent les sceaux, qu'il leur rendit à l'instant, et dit qu'il établissoit le conseil des mêmes personnes, dont il avoit été composé. Ils prêtèrent tous un nouveau serment; ensuite, sa Majesté Britannique leur dit en peu de mots, que la douleur de la perte d'un frère, et d'un Roi, pour qui il avoit autant de respect et d'amitié, ne lui permettoit pas de leur faire un long discours; mais, qu'il se croyoit obligé de leur déclarer d'abord, qu'il ne se serviroit du pouvoir que Dieu lui avoit donné que pour le maintien des loix d'Angleterre, et qu'il ne feroit rien, contre la sûreté et la conservation de la religion Protestante; qu'il apporteroit tous ses soins, pour remplir les devoirs d'un bon roi à l'égard de ses sujets, et de ses peuples; et qu'il s'attendoit aussi que ses sujets demeureroient dans l'obéissance et la fidélité qu'ils lui doivent par les loix divines et humaines. Milord Rochester prit la parole, et demanda à sa Majesté Britannique, s'il ne lui plaisoit pas que l'on publiât une Déclaration de ce qu'il lui avoit plû de dire. Cela fut résolu, et la Déclaration sera imprimée. On donna ensuite les ordres pour la proclamation, et le conseil se leva pour aller en corps, saluer la Reine régnante; et ensuite la Reine Douairière.

De là tout le conseil alla faire faire la publication en plusieurs endroits de la ville de Londres, où le Maire se trouva aussi. Les Pairs d'Angleterre qui se trouverent presens, suivirent le conseil. Il y avoit quelques troupes à cheval, qui précédoient, et des compagnies d'infanterie postées en divers endroits, pour réprimer le tumulte et le désordre, s'il en fut arrivé. Le peuple fit des acclamations ordinaires en pareil cas. Il y avoit des gens préposés pour distribuer du vin, et boire à la santé du Roi Jacques Second.

Il n'y a eu encore aucun changement dans les charges. Le Roi d'Angleterre a cru d'abord devoir laisser les choses comme elles sont, on n'a même encore rien changé au conseil du cabinet, mais il ne se tient que pour la forme, et le Roi d'Angleterre a des conférences secrètes avec Milord Sunderland, Milord Rochester, et Milord Godolphin, où les choses les plus importantes se résolvent. Milord Rochester a plus de part qu'aucun

autre à sa confiance. Il ne songe plus à aller en Irlande ; on croit que ce sera, ou le Comte de Clarendon ou le Duc de Beaufort. Le Duc d'Ormond pourra bien y demeurer encore quelque temps.

Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a dit qu'il enverra Milord Churchill incessamment donner part à Votre Majesté de la mort du Roi son frère, et de son avènement à la couronne, et qu'il l'a choisi comme un homme, qui est déjà dans le secret d'une intime liaison avec V. M. Il est gentilhomme de sa chambre, et cet envoy le regardoit naturellement, n'envoyant point le Comte de Peterborough, qui est le premier gentilhomme de la chambre.

Sa Majesté Britannique alla voir Madame de Portsmouth, une heure après être proclamé, et lui donna beaucoup d'assurances de sa protection, et de son amitié. Milord Godolphin, et les autres commissaires des finances, demeurent dans leur fonction, mais on croit, que dans quelque temps Milord Rochester sera Grand Trésorier, et qu'il a jugé lui-même, plus à-propos, de laisser établir les affaires avant que d'avoir ouvertement l'administration des finances. Milord Sunderland a aussi beaucoup de part à la confiance du Roi d'Angleterre ; il m'en a parlé avec beaucoup d'estime, et comme le croyant fort propre à le servir dans les desseins qu'il a. Sa Majesté Britannique a pris soin avant et depuis la mort du Roi son frère, d'établir une liaison étroite entre Milord Rochester et Milord Sunderland. Leur amitié s'étoit un peu refroidie dans les derniers temps : Milord Sunderland, Madame de Portsmouth, et Milord Godolphin possédoient seuls toute l'autorité auprès du feu Roi d'Angleterre, Milord Rochester, qui le connoissoit, avoit désiré d'aller en Irlande, à quoi les autres l'avoient servi, pour lui procurer un exil honorable. M. le Duc de York souffroit avec peine la diminution du crédit de Milord Rochester, croyant que cela retournoit sur lui. J'ai été souvent employé à adoucir ce qui se passoit.

Milord Churchill est informé de tout à fond, et pourra, si V. M. l'a agréable, lui dire beaucoup de choses, qu'il est impossible d'expliquer par des lettres. Elles ne sont pas à cette heure fort importantes, si ce n'est pour faire mieux connoître l'état du dedans de la cour d'Angleterre, présentement. Milord Churchill a beaucoup de part aux bonnes grâces de son maître, et le choix qu'il a fait de lui pour l'envoyer à V. M. en est une marque. Je viens à cette heure à ce qu'il y a de plus important.

Les revenus du Roi d'Angleterre tombent pour la plus grande partie par la mort du Roi son frère. Il est persuadé que le gouvernement ne se peut soutenir avec ce qui lui reste de revenu, qui ne monteroit au plus qu'à sept cens mille livres sterlin.

Il me fit hier au soir entrer dans son cabinet, et après m'avoir parlé de diverses choses du dedans qui ne sont pas de grande importance, il me dit, Vous allez peutêtre être surpris, mais j'espère que vous vous serez de mon avis quand je vous aurai dit mes raisons. J'ai résolu de convoquer incessamment un parlement, et de l'assembler au mois de Mai. Je publierai en même tems une déclaration pour me maintenir dans la jouissance des mêmes revenus qu'avoit le Roy mon frère. Sans cette proclamation pour un parlement, je hazarderois trop de m'emparer d'abord de ce qui s'est établi pendant la vie du feu Roy ; c'est un coup décisif pour moi d'entrer en possession et en jouissance ; car dans la suite, il me sera bien plus facile ou d'éloigner le parlement, ou de me maintenir par des autres voyes qui me paroîtroient bien plus convenables. Beaucoup de gens diront que je me determine trop promptement à convoquer un parlement ; mais si j'attendois d'avantage, j'en perdrais tout le mérite. Je connois les Anglois ; il ne faut pas leur témoigner de crainte dans les commencemens ; les gens mal-intentionnés auroient formé des cabales pour demander un parlement, et se seroient attiré la faveur de la nation dont ils auroient abusé dans la suite ; je sçai bien que je trouverai encore des difficultés à surmonter ; mais j'en viendrai à bout, et me mettrai en état de reconnoître les obligations infinies que j'ai au Roy votre maître.

Je connois en quels embarras le feu Roy mon frère s'est jetté quand il s'est laissé ébranler à l'égard de la France : j'empêcherai bien qu'un parlement ne se mêle des affaires étrangères ; et je le séparerai dès que je verrai qu'ils feront paroître aucune mauvaise volonté.

C'est à vous à expliquer au Roi votre maître ce que je vous dis, afin qu'il ne trouve pas à redire que j'aie pris si promptement une résolution si importante, et sans le consulter, comme je le dois et le veux faire en tout ; mais j'aurois gâté extrêmement mes affaires, si j'avois différé seulement de huit jours, car je serois demeuré privé des revenus que je conserve ; et la moindre opposition, de la part de ceux qui auroient refusé de payer les

droits, m'auroit engagé à les lever par force, au lieu que je prétendrais avoir la loy pour moi présentement ; et il me sera fort aisé de réduire ceux qui voudront s'opposer à ce que je fais.

Le Roy d'Angleterre a ajouté à cela toutes sortes de protestations de reconnaissance et d'attachement pour votre Majesté ; il me dit que sans son appui et sa protection, il ne pouvoit rien entreprendre de ce qu'il avoit dans l'esprit en faveur des Catholiques ; qu'il savoit assez, qu'il ne seroit jamais en sûreté que la liberté de conscience pour eux ne fût entièrement établie en Angleterre ; que c'est à cela à quoi il travaillera avec une entière application dès qu'il y verra de la possibilité ; que j'avois vu avec quelle facilité il avoit été reconnu et proclamé Roy ; que le reste arrivera de la même manière en se conduisant avec fermeté et sagesse.

Je dis à sa Majesté Britannique que je ne prendrois pas le parti de répondre sur le champ à ce qu'il me faisoit l'honneur de me dire ; que je ne pouvois jamais douter de la sincérité de ses sentimens à l'égard de votre Majesté ; et que je le croiois trop habile et trop sage pour rien faire qui put altérer une liaison fondée sur tant d'expérience et de raison ; que je rendrois compte à votre Majesté de ce qu'il m'avoit dit ; et que quand j'y aurois pensé, je lui dirois librement mes sentimens, qui ne devoient être d'aucun poids jusques à ce que je parlasse de la part de votre Majesté ; que je lui dirois cependant de moi-même, et sans y penser d'avantage, que votre Majesté est en un tel état qu'elle n'a rien à desirer pour l'augmentation de sa puissance et de sa grandeur : qu'elle a donné des bornes à ses conquêtes dans le tems qu'elle auroit pu facilement les augmenter : que son amitié pour le feu Roi d'Angleterre et pour lui à qui j'avois l'honneur de parler, l'avoit engagé à soutenir leurs intérêts et ceux de la Royauté en ce pays-cy ; que Dieu avoit béni les desseins de votre Majesté par tout ; et que j'étois assuré qu'elle auroit une joie sensible de son élévation au gouvernement de trois royaumes ; que je ne doutois point que sa conduite ne fût toujours conforme à ce qu'il devoit à sa reputation, et à ses véritables intérêts, qui seront de conserver l'amitié de votre Majesté ; et qu'il est juste de se rapporter de ses affaires pour le dedans à ce qu'il en jugera lui-même. Je n'ai pas cru, Sire, devoir combattre, sans y avoir pensé murement, une résolution déjà prise, et que mes raisons n'auroient pas fait changer : j'ai même

estimé qu'il étoit de la dignité de votre Majesté que je ne parusse pas intimidé d'une assemblée de parlement, pour les seuls intérêts de votre Majesté, quand le Roy d'Angleterre témoigne n'en rien appréhender.

Milord Rochester m'est venu trouver ce matin de la part de sa Majesté Britannique, pour m'expliquer plus au long les motifs de la convocation d'un parlement; il a ajouté à tout ce que le Roi d'Angleterre m'avoit dit, que s'il n'avoit prévenu les requêtes qu'on lui alloit faire, le Garde des Sceaux et le Marquis d'Halifax n'auroient pas manqué de le presser d'assembler un parlement; qu'il avoit voulu les prévenir, et faire connoître que ce qu'il fait, vient de son pur mouvement; que l'avantage présent qu'il tire de cette déclaration, est de se mettre en possession du revenu qu'avoit le feu Roy d'Angleterre, aussi bien que de sa couronne; qu'il auroit été trop à charge à votre Majesté s'il avoit été obligé de lui demander des secours aussi considérables que ceux dont il auroit eu besoin; que ce qu'il fait ne l'exempte pas d'avoir recours à votre Majesté; et qu'il espère qu'elle voudra bien dans les commencemens de son règne l'aider à en soutenir le poids; que cette nouvelle obligation, jointe à tant d'autres, l'engagera encore d'avantage à ne se pas départir du chemin, qu'il a cru que le feu Roy son frere devoit tenir à l'égard de votre Majesté; que ce sera le moyen de le faire indépendant du parlement, et de se mettre en état de se soutenir sans parlement, si on lui refuse la continuation des revenus dont le feu Roi jouissoit.

Milord Rochester n'a obmis aucune des raisons qu'il a cru propres à me convaincre, que votre Majesté n'hazarde rien en secourant présentement le Roi d'Angleterre d'une somme considérable; que c'est soutenir son ouvrage, et le mettre en état de ne se jamais démentir; que pour lui, il n'a point changé de sentimens, et que son opinion étoit que le Roi son maître ne se peut bien soutenir sans l'aide et le secours de votre Majesté: que ce seroit le laisser à la merci de son peuple, et en état d'être ruiné, si votre Majesté ne lui donnoit pas de nouvelles marques de son amitié dans une occasion si décisive; et que de ce commencement dépendoit tout le bonheur de son maître.

Je dis à Milord Rochester, qu'il s'étoit passé tant de choses considérables, et imprévues, depuis quelques jours, qu'il seroit imprudent à un étranger comme moi de vouloir former des jugemens sur ce qui est à faire dans la

conjoncture présente ; que le mot de parlement ne me faisoit point de peur, que je savois, par expérience, qu'ils n'avoient de force qu'autant que leur en donnoit une cabale de cour, et une intelligence avec les ministres ; que je connoissois la différence du temps passé, à celui-ci, et avec quelle fermeté le nouveau Roi d'Angleterre seroit porté par son naturel à conduire les affaires ; que je voyois bien qu'il est dans une conjoncture délicate et fort périlleuse ; que je ne pouvois cependant qu'approuver la résolution prise de se maintenir dans la possession de tout le revenu du Roi d'Angleterre ; que la convocation d'un parlement donneroit beaucoup d'espérance aux anciens ennemis de M. le Duc d'York et de la royauté, qu'ils employeroient toute sorte d'artifice pour le jeter dans des embarras, dont il ne se pourroit tirer ; qu'on ne lui accorderoit rien qu'à des conditions fort dures, et qu'il seroit alors également périlleux de les accorder, ou de les refuser ; que, cependant, je ne manquerois pas de rendre compte à V. M. de l'état des affaires, et de ce qui m'a été dit sur le besoin présent d'un secours considérable ; qu'autrefois une pareille demande auroit paru incompatible, avec le dessein d'assembler un parlement : que V. M. étoit prévenue de beaucoup d'estime et de confiance pour le Roi d'Angleterre ; que j'avois été assez heureux pour exécuter avec quelque succès les ordres que j'avois reçus de V. M. sur son sujet ; qu'il en étoit meilleur témoin que personne, puisque c'étoit avec lui que j'avois traité pour la conservation du droit de M. le Duc d'York à la couronne, et pour son retour d'Ecosse, et pour son rétablissement dans les conseils, et dans la fonction de l'amirauté ; que j'étois fort aise de traiter présentement avec un ministre aussi accrédité qu'il étoit auprès d'un grand Roi, dont il a l'honneur d'être beau-frère, et que la conduite qu'il a tenue avec moi pendant qu'il avoit la direction des finances, avoit donné beaucoup d'estime pour lui à V. M.

Il répondit à cela en des termes pleins de respect, et me dit, Me voilà encore employé à vous demander de l'argent. Je ne le ferois pas si hardiment, si je ne croyois, que ce sera de l'argent bien employé, et que le Roi votre maître n'en sauroit faire un meilleur usage ; soyez assuré que vos ennemis, et ceux du Roi mon maître seroient fort aises que l'on ne fit rien de considérable en France pour lui en une occasion comme celle-ci. Représentez bien au Roi votre maître la conséquence de mettre le mien en

état de n'avoir besoin que de son amitié, et de ne pas dépendre de ses sujets, en sorte qu'ils puissent lui donner la loi.

Voilà, Sire, le récit exact de ce qui s'est passé ici jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Je ne serai pas assez hardi pour former des jugemens certains sur l'avenir. L'Angleterre est sujette à trop de révolutions, et à de trop grands changements, pour pouvoir prédire ce qui arrivera. Il me paroît, par tout ce que je puis pénétrer, que les factieux n'ont pas abandonné leur desseins, et que les esprits ne sont pas revenus de leur aversion pour la Religion Catholique. Ceux qui ont offensé M. le Duc d'York, et qui l'ont voulu perdre, croient, qu'il s'en souviendra toujours, et qu'il ne leur pardonnera pas ; cependant tout paroît calme, et c'est un grand avantage pour sa Majesté Britannique, que d'entrer paisiblement en possession de sa couronne, et des revenus, qui sont nécessaires pour la soutenir. L'utilité présente qu'on peut tirer de la convocation d'un parlement, c'est que cela contiendra ceux mêmes qui ont des desseins de brouiller, parcequ'ils croiront en avoir un prétexte plus plausible quand le parlement sera assemblé. Si j'ose dire mon avis à V. M. je crois qu'elle commencera par des témoignages d'amitié et de confiance au Roi d'Angleterre.

J'attens de jour à autre une lettre de change de 50,000 livres, qui, jointe à une autre de pareille somme, qui est déjà ici, me mettra en état de faire un payement de cent mille francs : je ne le ferai pourtant point sans un ordre exprès, et je ferai en sorte qu'on approuvera ici que je ne me dispense pas des regles dans un temps auquel rien ne paroît qui puisse troubler le Roi d'Angleterre.

Je me donnerai l'honneur par le premier ordinaire de rendre compte à V. M. de l'effet qu'aura produit le bruit de la convocation d'un parlement. J'essayerai de pénétrer les desseins des ministres, et les divers motifs de chacun d'eux. Ils ont été bien aises d'avoir seuls part à la résolution d'assembler un parlement, mais l'entreprise de se saisir des douanes et des revenus de l'excise, qui devroient finir par la mort du feu Roi d'Angleterre, causera une grande rumeur, et fera juger aux plus sensés, que le Roi d'Angleterre veut plaider les mains garnies. Je n'obmettrai aucun soin pour être bien informé de tout, afin que V. M. me commande ce qui sera de son service. Si elle juge à-propos, de faire promptement passer ici une somme considérable, je ne donnerai pas d'avantage pour cela, et ne ferai

rien de mon chef, à moins que je ne visse une rébellion formée, et qu'il fut d'une absolue nécessité de fournir un prompt secours au Roi d'Angleterre.

Il est, autant que je le puis juger, fort important que V. M. veuille bien approuver des facilités sur l'affaire de l'ordonnance, qui défend aux vaisseaux Anglois de transporter des marchandises des Gênois. Je ferai le meilleur usage qu'il me sera possible des ordres, que j'attens de V. M. sur cela. La dépêche du 9e. Fevrier de M. le Marquis de Croissy a déjà produit un très-bon effet. Si les ordres que je recevrai ne sont pas suffisans pour accommoder l'affaire à l'entière satisfaction de sa Majesté Britannique, j'attendrai que V. M. ait été informée de tout ce qui est arrivé, et je trouverai bien moyen de gagner du temps, jusqu'à ce que j'aye reçu de nouveaux ordres. V. M. juge assez, qu'il est de conséquence que le règne du Roi d'Angleterre ne commence pas par une mésintelligence entre V. M. et lui. Le fonds de l'affaire ne subsiste plus, puisque les Gênois se sont soumis à tout ce qui V. M. leur a prescrit.

Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a dit ce soir, Je vous ay envoyé Milord Rochester, et je n'ai point fait de difficulté d'exposer au Roi votre maître le besoin que j'ai de son assistance; vous savez en quel état je me trouve, et combien la conjoncture est importante pour moi. Il m'a dit ensuite, que par les dernières lettres de Bruxelles, on y attendoit M. le Duc de Monmouth, et que l'ambassadeur d'Espagne lui avoit demandé ce matin de quelle manière il désireroit qu'on traitât avec M. le Duc de Monmouth; qu'il lui avoit répondu, que tout le monde savoit la conduite qu'a tenue M. le Duc de Monmouth à son égard, et que ce n'étoit pas à lui à rien conseiller sur ce que le Roi d'Espagne, ou ses ministres, croient devoir faire; qu'ils avoient leurs ordres, ou qu'ils en recevraient de nouveaux, et que c'étoit à eux de juger ce qui convient au service, et à la dignité de leur maître. On a arrêté à Douvres un domestique fort confident de M. le Duc de Monmouth, qui s'appelle Jean Guibring; il venoit de Flandres: il en étoit parti avant la maladie du feu Roi d'Angleterre; on croit pourtant découvrir quelque chose par lui. Le Roy d'Angleterre m'a chargé ce soir d'une lettre de sa main pour V. M.

Je suis avec le profond respect que je dois, &c.

19 Fevrier, 1685.

BARILLON.

*Le Roi à M. Barillon.*20 *Fevrier*, 1685.

MONSIEUR BARILLON, vos deux lettres des 12, 17, ib. de ce mois m'ont été rendues par le courier que vous m'avez dépêché, et j'ay appris avec étonnement et un déplaisir bien sensible la mort si subite du Roi d'Angleterre ; ce n'a pas été néanmoins une petite consolation pour moi, d'être informé par ces mêmes lettres, de toutes les graces que Dieu a faites à ce prince sur la fin de ses jours, et du bonheur qu'il a eu d'en profiter si dignement.

[On tiendra cependant fort secret de ma part tout ce que s'est passé dans ses derniers moments.]

Je vous adresse la lettre que j'écris de ma main au Roi son frère, et vous ne sauriez trop lui exprimer en la lui rendant de ma part, combien je m'intéresse à tout ce qui le touche, et le plaisir que je me ferai tousjours de procurer ses avantages et sa satisfaction.

Observez bien quelle est la disposition présente des esprits tant à la cour, où vous êtes, que dans la ville de Londres, et à la campagne ; quel mouvement se donnent les cabales opposées à l'autorité royale, et à la Religion Catholique ; quelles sont les intrigues du Prince d'Orange et du Duc de Monmouth ; qui en sont les principaux promoteurs ; si leurs factions sont puissantes ; quelles mesures prend le Duc d'York.

[Quelle peut être la force du party Catholique en Angleterre.]

Sur le fait de la religion, s'il prétend faire une proclamation, qui donne le libre exercice à chaque religion, et par conséquent aux Catholiques ? S'il ne fera pas mettre en liberté les Seigneurs Catholiques détenus dans la Tour ; à qui le dit Roi distribuera les principales charges ; quelles mesures il prend pour s'assurer des ports de mer, et places les plus importantes ; s'il peut se confier aux troupes entretenues aux dépens de la couronne ; si les principaux commandans sont fort attachés à ses intérêts ; qui sont ceux dont il se doit défier, ou sur qui il peut faire un fondeur certain ?

[Quel changement il fait parmi les officiers des dites troupes ; quel est le fonds, qu'il a pour les entretenir.]

Ainsi appliquez vous à être parfaitement informé, et à me rendre un

compte exact de tous les moyens, qu'a le dit Roi de maintenir son autorité, et de tout ce qu'il doit appréhender, ensorte que je puisse être bien averti, et je formerai mes résolutions sur vos avis.

Comme je suis très-satisfait de la conduite que le Comte de Sunderland a tenue, depuis qu'il est rentré dans l'administration des affaires, vous devez lui rendre auprès du Roi d'Angleterre tous les bons offices qui dépendront de vous, et même faire connoître, si vous le jugez nécessaire, que sa conservation me sera très-agréable. Vous pouvez aussi assurer la Duchesse de Portsmouth de la continuation de ma protection.

Je viens de donner ordre qu'on vous fasse remettre présentement par lettres de change jusqu'à la somme de cinq cens mille livres, afin que vous puissiez assister le Roi d'Angleterre, selon les plus pressants besoins qu'il en pourra avoir dans le commencement de son gouvernement, m'assurant que vous vous conduirez en cela, avec toute la prudence nécessaire pour rendre ce secours le plus utile qu'il le pourra, au bien de ses affaires, et le lui faire considérer comme une preuve la plus essentielle de mon amitié, qui va au-devant de ce qui lui peut être nécessaire dans la conjoncture présente.

Je ne doute pas, qu'il ne soit assez porté, par son propre intérêt, à empêcher que le Prince d'Orange, ou le Duc de Monmouth, ne passent en Angleterre ; mais si, contre mon opinion, il vous paroissoit disposé à y consentir, vous ne sauriez trop lui représenter, combien il lui importe de prendre de bonnes mesures, pour empêcher qu'ils ne puissent y aborder, et se joindre aux cabales opposées à l'affermissement de son autorité. En un mot, les desseins du Prince d'Orange non seulement sont incompatibles avec la sûreté de sa personne et de son état, mais aussi avec les liaisons qui peuvent s'entretenir avec les Rois de France et d'Angleterre.

Je reçois encore présentement par la voye de Londres, vos lettres de 12, 14, et 15^e. qui m'informent principalement des circonstances de la maladie et de la mort du feu Roi d'Angleterre ; et comme elles me font voir aussi que la fermeture des ports n'avoit été ordonnée qu'afin d'empêcher que le Prince d'Orange ou le Duc de Monmouth ne prissent prétexte de la maladie du feu Roi pour passer en Angleterre, je ne doute pas que le Roi

à présent régnant ne prenne encore plus de soin, à empêcher qu'aucun d'eux n'y aille susciter de nouveaux troubles contre son gouvernement; et il ne pourroit point se relâcher sur cette précaution sans se faire un préjudice considérable, et s'exposer à de grands périls.

Dans l'état présent des affaires d'Angleterre, je n'ay pas cru pouvoir charger Milord d'Aran d'une lettre pour le Roi, d'autant plus, que celle que je lui ay écrite sur notre affliction commune, et sur son avènement à la couronne, étoit même contre l'usage, et que ce n'étoit que par un pur motif d'amitié, que j'ay passé par-dessus les regles, qui m'auroient obligé d'attendre qu'on m'auroit fait part de ce changement; c'est pourquoi je désire, que vous informiez le Roi de la raison pour la quelle je n'ai pas donné des lettres au Milord; et qu'au surplus vous lui rendiez tous les bons offices que vous pourrez, pour lui procurer auprès du nouveau Roi tous les avantages qui lui peuvent convenir, le regardant comme une personne qui a toujours fait paroître tout l'attachement pour le service du Roi, que lui pouvoit permettre le zèle qu'il avoit pour le feu Roi d'Angleterre, et qu'il continuera d'avoir pour le Roi d'à-présent.

Je ne reponds point aux articles de votre lettre qui regardent les plaintes que font les Anglois au sujet de quelques vaisseaux de cette nation qui ont été pris et amenés à Toulon; car je m'assure que les ordres que j'ai donnés pour les faire relâcher, et tout ce que je vous ai écrit, aura pleinement satisfait le Roi d'Angleterre, et fait cesser tout sujet de plainte de ses sujets.

Le Roi à M. Barillon.

26 *Fevrier*, 1685.

MONSIEUR BARILLON, votre second courier m'a rendu vos lettres des 18 et 19^e de ce mois, dont la première m'informe exactement de tout ce qui s'est passé de plus considérable pendant les quatres jours de la maladie du feu Roi d'Angleterre, et l'autre, de la résolution qu'a prise le Roi d'à-présent de convoquer un nouveau parlement, et de l'assembler dans le mois de Mars prochain. Je n'avois rien à désirer sur le premier point, à quoi vous n'ayez pleinement satisfait; je vous dirai aussi, qu'après avoir

donné des marques particulières au Roi d'Angleterre, de la part que je prenois à sa douleur, je l'ai témoigné aussi publiquement, en faisant cesser d'abord dans ma cour les divertissements de bal et d'opéra, et en prenant ensuite le deuil, que j'ai résolu de porter aussi long-tems que le feu Roi l'a gardé pour la mort de la feue Reine mon épouse.

Vous avez vu par ma dépêche du 20^e de ce mois, que j'ai prévenu la demande qui vous a été faite par le Roi d'Angleterre d'un secours d'argent, et que vous êtes présentement en état de le faire au-delà de ce qu'il pouvoit espérer. J'approuve aussi la résolution qu'il a prise de convoquer un nouveau parlement, pour l'assembler au mois de Mars, et les raisons sur lesquelles il se fonde me persuadent qu'il ne pouvoit pas prendre, un meilleur parti, ayant d'ailleurs trop bonne opinion des sa sagesse, pour douter qu'il puisse rien arriver qui soit capable de le détacher des liaisons qu'il a prises avec moi.

Comme le Sieur D'Avaux m'écrit que le Duc de Monmouth est parti de la Haye la nuit du 20^e. fort secrètement, pour passer en Angleterre, je m'assure que j'apprendrai par vos premières lettres quelles mesures aura prises la Cour où vous êtes pour s'opposer aux desseins que peut avoir ce Duc, et que vous me pourrez donner en mêmes temps une partie des éclaircissements que je vous ai demandés par ma dépêche du 20^e, y ayant bien de l'apparence que les cabales du Prince d'Orange et du Duc de Monmouth ne demeureront pas sans action dans ce commencement de règne, et qu'il pourroit aussi être troublé par les différentes sectes, qui ont intérêt d'empêcher l'établissement de notre religion.

J'ai fait choix du Maréchal de Lorge pour aller faire compliment au Roi d'Angleterre sur son avènement à la couronne, et sur la mort du feu Roy son frère. Je ne puis pas douter que la cour où vous êtes ne soit satisfaite de ce que je vous ai mandé par ma dépêche du 12^e, et par la précédente, au sujet des vaisseaux Anglois qui font leur commerce avec la ville de Gênes, et j'ay donné ordre que le dernier qui a été envoyé à Toulon soit relâché, et qu'à l'avenir il n'y en ait aucun qui soit détourné de sa route, ensorte qu'aussitôt que mes ordres auront pû être rendus à ceux qui commandent mes vaisseaux, il n'arrivera plus rien qui puisse donner sujet de plainte aux Anglois.

Je vous envoie une lettre pour la Duchesse de Portsmouth, et vous pouvez lui confirmer, en la lui rendant, les assurances que je lui donne de ma protection.

M. Barillon au Roy.

26 *Fevrier*, 1685.

JE reçûs avant hier la dépêche de votre Majesté du 20 de ces mois, par le retour du courier que j'avois dépêché ; j'allai à l'instant trouver le Roi d'Angleterre ; je lui donnai la lettre de la main de votre Majesté, qu'il eût la bonté de me faire lire ; il me parut recevoir avec une entière sensibilité les témoignages de l'amitié de votre Majesté ; je crus n'en devoir pas faire à deux fois, et ne pas différer à l'informer du soin que votre Majesté avoit eu, d'assembler en si peu de tems des lettres de change pour la somme de cinq cent mille livres, et de me les envoyer afin que j'en puisse faire l'usage qui conviendrait à son service. Ce Prince fût extrêmement surpris, et me dit, les larmes aux yeux, " Il n'appartient qu'au Roi votre maître d'agir d'une manière si noble et si pleine de bonté pour moi ; je vous avoue, que je suis plus sensible à ce qu'il fait en cela, qu' à tout ce qui peut arriver dans la suite de ma vie ; car je vois clairement le fonds de son cœur, et combien il a envie que mes affaires prospèrent ; il a été au-devant de ce que je pouvois désirer, et a prévenu mes besoins ; je ne saurois jamais reconnoître assez un tel procédé ; témoignez lui ma reconnoissance, et soiez garant de l'attachement qui j'aurai toute ma vie pour lui."

Je ne saurois, Sire, exprimer quelle joie eût ce Prince de voir une si prompte et si solide marque de l'amitié de votre Majesté, et la promptitude avec la quelle votre Majesté avoit envoyé une somme aussi considérable. Je lui dis, que pour ne rien dérober à ce qu'il devoit à votre Majesté, je lui avouerois franchement, que dans le trouble où je me trouvois au moment de la mort du feu Roi d'Angleterre, je n'avois songé qu'à dépêcher un courier pour en informer votre Majesté, et que je ne lui avois pas représenté combien il importoit de lui envoyer un prompt secours ; que si en cela j'avois fait un manquement, il étoit bien réparé par ce que votre Majesté a fait. Le Roy d'Angleterre m'interrompit, et dit, qu'il

ne pouvoit assez admirer la prévoyance de votre Majesté, et le soin de lui donner si promptement une marque si essentielle de son amitié ; que votre Majesté n'y seroit point trompée ; et qu'il se souviendrait de ce qu'elle faisoit pour lui affermir la couronne sur sa tête.

Dès que je fus sorti, il s'enferma avec Milord Rochester, Milord Sunderland, et Milord Godolfin, et leur conta ce que je lui avois dit de la part de votre Majesté, en des termes qui ajoutent encore à ceux dont il s'étoit servi avec moi. Ils vinrent l'un après l'autre me dire à l'oreille que j'avois donné la vie au Roi leur maître, et que quoiqu'il se tint assuré de l'amitié de votre Majesté, cette dernière preuve, donnée si à-propos, l'obligeoit au-delà tout de ce qu'on pouvoit croire.

Je m'attendois bien, que ce que votre Majesté a fait, produiroit un bon effet, mais je ne croiois pas en recevoir tant de témoignages de reconnaissance, et je vois par là, que peut-être avoit-on voulu inspirer au Roi d'Angleterre quelque crainte que votre Majesté ne feroit pas de grands efforts pour le soutenir. Je dis pourtant cela de moi-même, car j'ai vu dans tous le discours de sa Majesté Britannique une grande confiance en l'amitié de votre Majesté.

Je dois lui rendre compte de ce qui s'étoit passé la veille ; j'eus une conférence avec les trois ministres. Milord Rochester, comme président du conseil, m'expliqua en peu de mots ce qu'ils avoient en charge du Roi leur maître de me dire, qui se terminoit à représenter à votre Majesté le besoin de ses affaires, et combien il lui importoit d'être secouru dans le commencement de son règne.

Milord Rochester entra ensuite dans la discussion du traité fait avec le feu Roi d'Angleterre ; nous convinmes de tout, même de ce qui restoit pour le parfait paiement de trois années de subside échûes. Milord Rochester dit qu'il y avoit eu toujours entre lui et moi un différend sur ce compte, en ce qu'il s'étoit attendu, et avoit cru, que votre Majesté donneroit deux millions par an, pendant trois ans ; qu'il étoit vrai que j'avois dit de mon côté, que je n'avois jamais eu pouvoir de promettre que quinze cent mille livres pour chacune des deux derniers années ; que cette difficulté n'avoit pas été terminée ; et que l'on n'avoit pas même parlé de la quatrième année, qui est presqu'échûe, parcequ'on ne prévoyoit pas que votre Ma-

jesté eut voulu discontinuer un subside au feu Roy d'Angleterre, dont la conduite en tout étoit si agréable à votre Majesté, et s'étoit si peu démentie en toutes occasions. Je répondis à cela, que je ne prendrois pas le parti de rien contester sur des matières de fait, à moins qu'elles ne fussent entièrement constantes ; que je n'avois pu excéder mes pouvoirs, et que je ne l'avois pas fait ; ainsi qu'il n'y avoit qu'à s'en tenir à ce dont nous étions convenus ; et que je ne laisserois pas de représenter à votre Majesté tout ce qui s'étoit dit par eux, afin qu'elle vit ce qu'elle jugeroit convenable à son service, et au bien des affaires du Roy d'Angleterre.

Milord Rochester finit en disant, Nous n'avons jamais eu de contestation, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur et moi ; car comme ce que le Roy son maître a fourni, étoit une gratification sans conditions, je n'étois pas en droit de disputer sur le plus ou le moins ; je crois pourtant, que ce que nous avons fait ensemble a été pour le service des deux Roys, et que l'un et l'autre ne s'en sont pas mal trouvés : il ajouta que son sentiment étoit de traiter encore de la même manière, et d'établir une confiance et une liaison pareille à celle qui a déjà si bien réussi. Je convins de ce qu'il avoit avancé ; j'y ajoutai que quoique le feu Roi d'Angleterre ne se fût pas obligé formellement à renoncer à son traité avec l'Espagne il avoit néanmoins tenu sur cela la conduite qu'on devoit attendre ; que le Roy d'à-présent étoit encore plus libre ; et qu'il n'étoit en aucun façon du monde obligé à ce traité, de l'exécution duquel le Roy son frère avoit jugé être suffisamment dispensé. Les trois ministres convinrent de ce que je disois, et me dirent, que le Roy leur maître se tenoit entièrement dégagé de l'obligation, où étoit entré le feu Roy, quelque légère qu'elle fut.

Je promis d'écrire à votre Majesté efficacement pour favoriser la demande, que devoit faire Milord Churchill à votre Majesté, d'un secours présent et considérable. Nous eûmes hier une autre conférence par ordre de sa Majesté Britannique, mais il ne fût plus question de rien de ce qui avoit été traité dans la précédente. Les ministres s'efforcèrent, l'un après l'autre, de me faire entendre, qu'ils ne croioient plus devoir ni capituler ni discuter les intérêts du Roy leur maître avec moi ; que votre Majesté les avoit mis en état de ne rien dire ; et qu'un procédé si franc et si généreux de sa part avoit obligé le Roy leur maître à leur donner ordre de me témoigner sa re-

connoissance, et de me prier de la représenter à votre Majesté telle qu'il la ressent ; que Milord Churchill n'avoit autre charge que de remercier votre Majesté, et que pour le surplus, on se remettoit à ce que je connoissois de l'état des affaires pour porter votre Majesté à faire ce qu'il lui plairoit, jugeant que l'on ne devoit rien demander à un Prince qui a prévenu ce qu'on pouvoit attendre de lui.

Le Roy d'Angleterre me parla hier plusieurs fois, et me dit, qu'il est pénétré de reconnoissance, et qu'il se croit en état de ne rien craindre, étant assuré comme il l'est de l'amitié de votre Majesté. Je me suis peut-être trop étendu sur tout cela, mais il est, ce me semble, à-propos, que votre Majesté connoisse combien sa Majesté Britannique et ses ministres ont été sensibles à ce que votre Majesté a fait. Je n'ai point encore donné d'argent ; il faut quelques jours pour l'écheance des lettres de change, dont on ne veut pas même que je presse trop le payement, pour ne pas faire soupçonner à la Bourse ce qui se passe ; ainsi je recevrai encore des ordres de votre Majesté, avant que je sois en état de faire aucun payement considérable. Il ne me paroît pas même qu'on ait aucune inquiétude icy de toucher de l'argent ; on se fie tellement à votre Majesté, que l'on croit l'argent aussi bien chez moi que s'il étoit à Whitehall. Je suis peut-être trompé, mais je ne pense pas que votre Majesté puisse rien faire qui lui soit de plus grande utilité pour l'avenir, que d'avoir prévenu ce que l'on pouvoit désirer en une occasion si importante.

Sa Majesté Britannique me dit encore hier au soir, " Je ne regarde pas l'état où je suis, mais l'état où je pouvois être. Tout est paisible en Angleterre et en Ecosse ; mais le Roy votre maître m'a secouru dans un tems qu'il ne pouvoit savoir s'il y auroit une sédition à Londres, et si je n'en serois pas chassé."

Le Roi d'Angleterre fut hier publiquement à la messe dans une petite chapelle de la Reine sa femme, dont la porte étoit ouverte ; cela a fait parler le monde fort ouvertement. Il me dit un jour auparavant, qu'il falloit que chacun agit selon son sens, et conformément à son tempérament ; qu'une dissimulation de sa religion étoit opposée à sa manière d'agir ; que les mal-intentionnés auroient pris avantage de sa crainte, s'il en avoit témoigné ; que quand il hazarderoit quelque chose en cela, il se croyoit

obligé en conscience de professer ouvertement sa religion ; qu'il croyoit que Dieu n'avoit pas permis que le Roy son frère put faire une profession publique de sa religion, qu'un peu avant sa mort, parcequ'il avoit trop craint de se montrer aux yeux des hommes tel qu'il étoit, et que cependant il l'avoit pu faire en diverses rencontres, sans aucun péril ; qu'il espère, que Dieu le protégera, et puisque V. M. le veut soutenir, et lui témoigner une amitié si sincère, il ne croit pas avoir rien à craindre.

Ce Prince m'expliqua à fonds son dessein à l'égard des Catholiques, qui est de les établir dans une entière liberté de conscience et d'exercice de la Religion ; c'est ce qui ne se peut qu'avec du temps, et en conduisant peu-à-peu les affaires à ce but. Le plan de sa Majesté Britannique est d'y parvenir par le secours et l'assistance du parti épiscopal, qu'il regarde comme le parti royal, et je ne vois pas que son dessein puisse aller à favoriser les Non-conformistes et les Presbitériens, qu'il regarde comme de vrais républicains.

Ce projet doit être accompagné de beaucoup de prudence, et recevra de grandes oppositions dans la suite. Présentement on ne sait rien sur cela, que ce que le feu Roi d'Angleterre avoit déjà résolu, c'est-à-dire, que tous les Catholiques sortiront des prisons, et on fera des défenses expresses à tous les juges de les poursuivre ny inquiéter : c'est ce qui est résolu, et qui sera exécuté avec fermeté. Il n'y a plus aucuns Seigneurs prisonniers à la Tour.

Le bruit est fort répandu ici que le feu Roi d'Angleterre est mort Catholique ; on en publie même beaucoup de circonstances, et sa Majesté Britannique ne se met pas en peine de les détruire ; son opinion est, qu'on le sauroit blâmer d'avoir aidé le Roy son frère à mourir dans la religion dont lui-même fait une profession ouverte. Cependant, la mémoire du feu Roi d'Angleterre est déchirée sur cela par les Protestans zelés, qui lui reprochent, comme une tromperie, d'avoir fait une profession ouverte d'une religion qu'il n'avoit pas dans le cœur : quelques-uns disent, qu'il a été obsédé par son frère dans sa maladie, et forcé à se déclarer Catholique Romain. Les plus factieux soutiennent qu'on voit clairement à présent qu'il y a eu un complot de Papistes, que le feu Roi d'Angleterre en étoit, aussi bien que le Duc d'York, et que les soupçons qu'on a eus sur cela sont entièrement confirmés.

Le corps du feu Roi d'Angleterre fut avant hier porté à Westminster, et enterré sans cérémonie le soir; tous les pairs et les officiers de la maison y étoient; ils rompirent sur la fosse leurs bâtons, et les marques de leur charge: hier matin sa Majesté Britannique a confirmé tous ceux qui possédoient des charges dont il n'y avoit point pareilles dans la sienne lorsqu'il étoit Duc d'York, c'est-à-dire, celles de Grand Maître, de Grand Chambellan, de Trésorier de la Maison, de Contrôleur, de Vice Chambellan, et d'autres officiers qui ont une espèce de juridiction. Ce n'est pas la même chose à l'égard des Gentilhommes de la Chambre, de Grand Ecuyer, et de Maître de la Garderobe; on croit qu'il en pourvoira ceux qui étoient à lui. La confirmation des officiers de la Maison est assez approuvée du monde. Elle n'est pourtant que pour un temps, et il y en a parmi eux, ou je me trompe, qui ne seront pas toujours conservés.

Milord Sunderland a été fort sensible à ce que je lui ai dit de l'ordre que j'avois de l'appuyer auprès du Roi son maître, s'il en avoit besoin.

Madame de Portsmouth est en inquiétude du traitement qu'elle recevra ici sur ses affaires. Ce que je lui ai dit de la continuation de la protection de V. M. lui a donné la seule consolation qu'elle ait eue depuis la mort du feu Roi d'Angleterre.

Milord Rochester a été déclaré aujourd'hui Grand Trésorier, et a pris le bâton. Sa Majesté Britannique me l'avoit dit il y a deux jours, et qu'il donneroit, comme il a aussi fait aujourd'hui, la charge de Chambellan de la Reine sa femme à Milord Godolphin, le voulant conserver, aussi bien que Milord Sunderland, dans sa plus étroite confiance. Ils ont die-sé tous trois ensemble l'instruction de Milord Churchill, qui est parti ce matin. Ils m'ont dit que toute l'instruction se terminoit à remercier V. M. et à lui faire bien comprendre la reconnaissance du Roi leur maître, de ce que V. M. a été, de son pur mouvement, au-devant de ce qu'on pourroit lui demander.

On avoit dit à la Cour, que les finances demeureroient entre les mains des commissaires, jusque à l'assemblée du parlement; mais le Roi d'Angleterre ne l'a pas jugé à-propos. Il y en avoit parmi eux, dont la conduite passée lui avoit fort déplu, et il a estimé que les affaires ne se pourroient soutenir que par un homme accrédité et autorisé comme le sera Milord Rochester.

Les nouvelles d'Ecosse portent que la proclamation s'est faite à Edinbourg avec un grand concours de peuple, et sans aucune difficulté. La même chose s'est passée à York, et dans toutes les villes d'Angleterre ; on ne doute pas que ce ne soit la même chose en Irlande. Enfin, il n'y a point d'exemples qu'une si grande succession ait été recueillie plus paisiblement, et avec moins de troubles.

Le Roi d'Angleterre croit être assuré de tous les ports de mer, de toute la flotte, et de toutes les troupes. Il sait bien pourtant, qu'il y en a parmi eux de mal-intentionnés, et qui dans le fond du cœur souhaiteroient des brouilleries ; mais en même temps il est persuadé qu'il ne se trouvera personne, qui ôse les commencer, et que tout le monde connoît que ce seroit s'exposer d'abord à une ruine certaine.

Les Compagnies des Indes Orientales, d'Afrique, et de Hambourg, ont offert de payer les droits à l'ordinaire ; tout cela durera apparemment jusque à l'assemblée du parlement ; c'est alors que s'il y a de la mauvaise volonté, et des desseins formés contre sa Majesté Britannique, ceux qui les ont seront plus hardis à se découvrir, et à entreprendre quelque chose.

Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a parlé plusieurs fois sur le sujet de M. le Prince d'Orange. J'ai exécuté ce que V. M. me prescrit, et représenté à sa Majesté Britannique, combien il importe à la sûreté de sa personne, et au repos, de son état, que M. le Prince d'Orange ne vienne point présentement en ce pays ici. Je n'ai oublié aucunes des choses que j'ai cru propres à donner des soupçons légitimes, et bien fondés, de ce que peut entreprendre un Prince héritier présomptif de la couronne, par sa femme, et que les peuples regarderont comme leur libérateur, étant de leur religion. Il m'a paru que toutes ces considérations font grande impression sur l'esprit du Roi d'Angleterre, et qu'il a de lui-même pensé les mêmes choses ; mais cependant, je ne l'ai pas trouvé résolu à refuser au Prince d'Orange la permission de venir, s'il accompagne sa demande des autres choses qui peuvent marquer sa soumission. L'opinion de sa Majesté Britannique est, qu'en l'état où sont les affaires en ce pays-ci, M. le Prince d'Orange ne réussira pas, s'il entreprend ouvertement d'y exciter des troubles. J'ai répliqué, qu'il étoit difficile de croire, que M. le Prince d'Orange changeât si tôt de mesures, et de sentiments, et que les règles de la prudence ne permettent

pas, que dans le commencement d'un règne, qui n'est pas encore affermi, on ne prenne pas toutes les précautions imaginables pour ôter aux peuples tout prétexte de remuer. J'ai ajouté à cela, que la liaison que sa Majesté Britannique prétend conserver avec V. M. et les secours qu'elle en attend, ne se peuvent concilier avec les desseins qu'a M. le Prince d'Orange, et dont il se départira fort mal-aisément.

Ce que j'ai dit n'a pas été contesté par le Roi d'Angleterre ; mais l'opinion qu'il a, de ne devoir témoigner aucune crainte dans le commencement, l'empêche de s'opposer ouvertement au voyage que le Prince d'Orange demandera peut-être à faire. Il y entre un peu de plaisir que sa Majesté Britannique prendra de voir ce Prince réduit à se soumettre. Je n'obtiendrai aucun soin pour prévenir les inconvéniens qui peuvent arriver de ce côté-là ; je ne puis encore rien mander à V. M. de certain sur cela, jusqu'à ce que l'on ait des nouvelles de ce qui se passe en Hollande, et de la manière dont le Prince d'Orange se conduira.

On ne fait ici aucune mention de M. le Duc de Monmouth, non plus que s'il n'avoit jamais été question de lui. On a su aujourd'hui que la proclamation s'étoit faite à Dublin avec la même tranquillité qu'en Écosse et en Angleterre.

Milord d'Aran est arrivé aujourd'hui ; je n'ai pas manqué à lui rendre tous les offices que V. M. m'a ordonné. Il me paroît, par la réponse que m'a fait le Roi d'Angleterre, qu'il a beaucoup de lieu d'espérer d'être un des gentilshommes de la chambre, c'est ce qui lui convient d'avantage présentement.

Je suis, &c.

BARILLON.

Sa Majesté Britannique m'a donné ce soir une lettre de sa main pour réponse à celle que j'ay eu l'honneur de lui donner de la part de votre Majesté. J'arrive présentement de Whitehall. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a dit que les lettres de Hollande étoient arrivées, et que M. le Prince d'Orange envoyoit ici Overit ; qu'ils avoient été également surpris, M. le Duc de Monmouth et lui, de la nouvelle de la mort du feu Roi d'Angleterre ; qu'ils avoient été en une longue conférence, et que Monsieur le Duc de Monmouth étoit parti de la Haye, sans qu'on sut où il alloit. Sa Majesté

Britannique ne croit pas, que M. le Prince d'Orange prenne le parti de lui demander à venir ici, et je vois bien qu'il y a moins de disposition dans son esprit à lui en accorder la permission, étant persuadé que les intentions de M. le Prince d'Orange ne sont pas rectifiées à son égard. Je prendrai le soin que je dois de faire bien comprendre au Roi d'Angleterre de quelle importance il lui est, de se précautionner contre les entreprises de M. le Prince d'Orange. Chidley a mandé que ce Prince avoit donné quelque argent à M. le Duc de Monmouth.

M. Barillon au Roi.

Mars 1, 1685.

TOUT est ici dans une tranquillité entière. La messe se dit publiquement à Whitehall, et le Roi et la Reine d'Angleterre y assistent ensemble. La porte de la chapelle, qui est petite, demeure ouverte, et toute l'antichambre est remplie de Catholiques et de Protestans. Ces derniers se retirent à l'élévation, pour ne se pas mettre à genoux. Il ne paroît pas jusqu'à présent que cela ait fait aucun effet dangereux dans les esprits des gens qui ont du sens, et de la raison. J'ai entendu des Protestans zélés dire, qu'il est juste que le Roi d'Angleterre ait l'exercice de sa religion, aussi bien que les deux Reines, et les ministres étrangers. Mais la populace de Londres est aigrie, de ce que le Roi d'Angleterre va publiquement à la messe ; et comme il y a dans Londres beaucoup de Presbitériens, et de sectaires, qui ne sont point de l'église Anglicane, ils auroient voulu que le Roy d'Angleterre se fut contenté de ne point aller à la chapelle du feu Roi, et se fût comporté comme font les Non-conformistes. Sa Majesté Britannique m'a dit, que je verrois, que ce premier pas ne lui nuiroit point, et que se conduisant dans le reste avec sagesse et prudence, il n'arrivera point d'inconvénient d'une chose à la quelle il auroit tousjours fallu venir dans la suite.

Hier Milord Clarendon fut fait Garde du Sceau Privé, et la charge de Président du Conseil, qui vaque par la promotion de Milord Rochester à la charge de Grand Trésorier, fut donnée à Milord Halifax. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a dit, qu'ayant conservé tous les grands officiers de la

maison du feu Roi son frère, il avoit voulu donner encore cette marque de modération, de ne pas laisser entièrement sans fonction Milord Halifax ; qu'il le connoissoit, et ne s'y pouvoit jamais fier ; qu'il ne lui donnoit aucune part dans le véritable secret des affaires, et que sa charge de Président ne serviroit qu'à montrer son peu de crédit. Ce Prince ajouta à cela, que dans ces commencements, il croyoit être de son intérêt de changer le moins de choses qu'il lui étoit possible, et de faire que ceux, qui lui ont été le plus opposés, ne se crussent pas entièrement ruinés, et sans aucune espérance de se pouvoir conserver.

Ce Prince est entré fort avant avec moi dans les raisons qui l'ont obligé de laisser dans leur fonction ceux qu'on sait avoir été ses plus dangereux ennemis, pendant la vie du Roi son frère. Il sait que cela a donné de l'alarme aux Catholiques en qui il a confiance, et que leur avis étoit, que ces charges eussent été d'abord remplies de gens de qualité, et d'une fidélité éprouvée. Ceux qui ont été toujours du parti de la Cour sont fâchés que les charges n'aient pas été changées ; chacun d'eux croit qu'il y auroit eu part. Au fonds, cela même ne paroît pas nuisible au Roy d'Angleterre présentement, et il lui étoit important de donner quelques marques de douceur dans le commencement, et d'ôter au monde l'opinion qui est établie, qu'il ne pardonne jamais. Le véritable motif est de ne pas désespérer des gens qu'il croit le pouvoir servir à rendre le Parlement plus traitable, et le disposer à lui accorder la continuation de tout le revenu dont il s'est mis en possession. Quoiqu'il n'y ait point d'opposition formelle sur cette jouissance, le murmure secret est fort grand, et les Anglois croient tous leurs privilèges rompus, de ce que les droits, dont la perception doit finir par la mort du feu Roi, sont levés comme ils l'étoient de son vivant. Les actes du Parlement, qui ont concédé ces droits, sont directement contraires à ce qui se fait ; et beaucoup de gens soutiennent qu'on les auroit plus aisément obtenus du Parlement si on avoit eu la considération et la retenue de ne les lever que de son consentement.

Cependant, la possession fait une espèce de droit, et sa Majesté Britannique paroît fort résolue de s'y maintenir à quelque prix que ce soit, ne croyant pas se pouvoir maintenir sans cela. Il s'est fait une chose, sur la même matière, qui n'est pas de peu de conséquence. L'excise qu'on

appelle additionnelle (ce sont des droits augmentés sur les vins, bières, et autres boissons) a été concédée au feu Roi pour sa vie ; mais on remontra, que si la ferme de ces droits étoit en incertitude, on ne pourroit trouver l'argent dont on avoit besoin alors ; ainsi il fut résolu, et on mit dans l'acte du Parlement, que cette ferme seroit donnée pour trois ans, et que la jouissance de ces droits continueroit pour le temps qui resteroit à expirer du bail qui auroit précédé la fin de la vie du Roi lors régnant. Pendant les derniers jours de la maladie du Roi d'Angleterre, le bail a été renouvelé et l'adjudication faite la veille de sa mort. Sa Majesté Britannique prétend, que cela s'est fait dans les formes, et aux termes de l'acte du Parlement ; et ainsi il y a une publication pour continuer la jouissance de ce droit, qui monte par an à cinq cens mille pièces. C'est une des plus considérables parties de son revenu.

Le Roi d'Angleterre a résolu de se faire couronner dans l'église de Westminster, avant l'assemblée du Parlement. Il y a aujourd'hui un comité établi pour régler en quelle manière cela se fera, et qu'elles cérémonies pourront être omises, et pour mettre la conscience de sa Majesté Britannique à couvert, et ne pas laisser de faire les cérémonies essentielles du couronnement, qui est estimé en Angleterre comme une chose entièrement nécessaire, pour l'établissement de l'autorité royale, après laquelle tout ce qui peut être dit ou fait contre le Roi est réputé haute trahison. On croit trouver des expédiens pour concilier les difficultés qui se rencontrent à cause de la différence de religion.

Le Sieur Overkerque est arrivé ici ; le Roi d'Angleterre m'a dit qu'il lui avoit apporté une lettre du Prince d'Orange conçue en termes respectueux, et fort soumis ; qu'il ne paroissoit pas avoir aucune intention de venir ici, ny songer à en demander la permission ; que quoique dans le fonds son voyage ne put être d'aucun péril n'y inconvénient, il étoit pourtant bien aise que cela ne fut point, ne sachant pas trop bien comment refuser une telle permission, sans témoigner une crainte mal fondée, et qui donneroit du courage à ses ennemis ; que cependant, il a connu, par ce que je lui ai dit, que le sentiment de V. M. n'est pas qu'il donne présentement la permission à M. le Prince d'Orange de passer en Angleterre ; que sa résolution est prise de se conformer, en tout, à ce qui sera plus agréable à V. M. et

que je puis être assuré, qu'il ne fera rien, qui ne soit entièrement conforme à ses obligations ; qu'il espère aussi, que V. M. aura assez de confiance en lui pour ne pas désapprouver ce qu'il sera obligé de faire pour affermir son autorité, et pour le bien de ses affaires ; qu'il connoit son véritable intérêt, et que rien au monde ne le fera départir de l'attachement qu'il aura, toute sa vie, aux intérêts de V. M.

J'ai dit à ce Prince, qu'il étoit vrai que V. M. n'estime pas qu'il soit convenable que M. le Prince d'Orange vienne en Angleterre dans la conjoncture présente ; qu'on peut juger assez par sa conduite passée, qu'il n'a point d'autres règles que celles de son ambition, qui va jusqu'à l'excès, et qui lui a fait commettre de grandes fautes ; qu'étant héritier présomptif de la couronne, les peuples auront les yeux sur lui, et le favoriseront à cause de la religion ; que cela peut mettre en grand péril sa personne et son état ; et qu'il ne paroît aucune bonne raison de s'exposer, sans nécessité, à un danger qui ne paroît pas médiocre ; qu'il importe, à la vérité, de témoigner, dans ces commencements beaucoup de fermeté, et de rien appréhender sans fondement, mais qu'il importe encore plus de prendre toutes ses sûretés, et de ne pas exposer légèrement un aussi grand établissement, que celui dont il se voit en possession paisible : que V. M. considère principalement, ce qui importe à la sûreté de la personne de sa Majesté Britannique, et de son état ; qu'elle croit aussi qu'il lui est de grande conséquence, dans ces commencements, de ne rien faire, qui puisse être opposé aux liaisons qu'il veut conserver, et qu'il croit lui être avantageuses ; qu'on ne sauroit douter que l'unique but de M. le Prince d'Orange ne soit d'affoiblir ces liaisons, et de les ruiner tout-à-fait s'il en pouvoit venir à bout ; et que sa Majesté Britannique ne peut trop tôt, et trop fortement, ôter à ses ennemis toute espérance de s'ébranler, et de lui faire changer de mesures.

J'ai cru, Sire, devoir parler fortement sur cette matière ; car, comme j'ai eu l'honneur de vous le mander, le Roi d'Angleterre ne seroit pas fâché de voir M. le Prince d'Orange humilié et soumis. Je ne perdrai aucune occasion de lui représenter, que la soumission, et le respect de M. le Prince d'Orange, ne seront pas sincères, et qu'il n'en témoignera qu'autant qu'il y sera forcé par la nécessité. Tout ce que j'apprens jusqu'à-présent me fait

croire, que M. le Prince d'Orange ne songe pas lui-même encore à venir, et qu'il a pris la résolution de conformer sa conduite, au moins en apparence, à ce que le Roi d'Angleterre pourroit désirer.

Sa Majesté Britannique me dit hier que M. le Duc de Monmouth avoit été trouver Madame la Princesse d'Orange, et lui avoit fait des protestations d'une fidélité et d'une soumission entière, la suppliant instamment de vouloir l'assurer qu'il n'auroit point à l'avenir de sujet plus zélé, et plus attaché à son service. J'ai dit à ce Prince, que cela ne pourroit être regardé que comme un artifice, ou un effet de la pure nécessité où M. le Duc de Monmouth se trouve, de parler de cette manière, ou de venir lui disputer la couronne, ce qu'il n'est pas en état de faire; que le concert de M. le Prince d'Orange, et de M. le Duc de Monmouth, lui doit être fort suspect; que cependant, je vois avec beaucoup de joie, que ses ennemis sont forcés à se soumettre, et que V. M. apprendra avec plaisir combien son autorité se fortifie au-dedans et au-dehors.

Je pris de là occasion de parler à sa Majesté Britannique des nouvelles de Hollande. Je lui donnai à lire une copie de la lettre de M. d'Avaux du 20^e.; ce Prince me dit, qu'il savoit les mêmes choses à peu-près par Chidley; qu'il voyoit le soin qu'on a pris de publier beaucoup de faussetés touchant une lettre qu'on suppose qu'il a écrite à M. le Prince d'Orange; qu'il me diroit à moi la pure vérité; que le jour de la mort du Roi son frère, l'ordinaire pour Hollande partoît, qu'il avoit cru en devoir donner part à sa fille, sans envoyer d'exprès, et qu'il avoit aussi estimé, que c'auroit été trop d'affectation de ne rien mander du tout à M. le Prince d'Orange, qu'il lui avoit écrit deux lignes de sa main, pour lui donner simplement part de la nouvelle, sans y ajouter aucun autre témoignage, n'y d'amitié, n'y de bienveillance; qu'il voyoit pourtant bien l'usage qu'on faisoit de ce billet, supposant que c'étoit une lettre remplie d'amitié et de tendresse; qu'il en seroit d'avantage sur ces gardes à l'avenir pour ne rien faire qui put être interprété contre ses intentions.

Le Duc d'Ormond doit revenir ici au mois de Mars, conformément à ce qui avoit été résolu par le feu Roi d'Angleterre. On ne nomme point encore qui sera Gouverneur d'Irlande. Le Primat, le Chancelier, et Milord Grenart, qui commande les troupes, auront l'administration et le

gouvernement jusque à ce qu'il y ait été pourvu, ainsi qu'il a été pratiqué en diverses rencontres.

Le Marquis de Grave a écrit au Roi d'Angleterre une lettre en termes fort respectueux, et fort passionnés pour son service. Il y mêle une congratulation sur l'assemblée d'un Parlement, et sur le sujet de M. le Prince d'Orange ; ce qui a été regardé de sa Majesté Britannique comme une marque de l'intention qu'ont les Espagnols de diriger tous leurs efforts ici par les Parlements, et sur la diminution de l'autorité royale.

J'arrive de Whitehall : le Roi d'Angleterre m'a mené ce soir dans son cabinet, et m'a dit que le Sieur Overkerque lui avoit fait demander une audience particulière un peu avant son souper ; que l'ayant admis, il lui avoit dit, que M. le Prince d'Orange non seulement se repentoit de sa conduite auprès du feu Roi d'Angleterre, mais qu'il reconnoissoit de bonne foi les fautes qu'il avoit commises envers sa Majesté Britannique à present régnante ; qu'il fera toute ce qui sera en son pouvoir pour les réparer, et pour mériter ses bonnes grâces par une soumission entière à ses volontés, et un attachement sincère à ses intérêts ; et qu'il suivroit ponctuellement ce qui lui seroit prescrit. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a dit, que sa réponse avoit été, qu'il verroit toujours avec plaisir M. le Prince d'Orange dans son devoir, et témoigner un véritable repentir du passé, mais qu'il ne pouvoit admettre ses soumissions, ni croire les protestations qu'on lui feroit de sa part sincères, si sa soumission n'étoit entière, et sans exception ; que le feu Roi d'Angleterre et lui, avoient établi une liaison avec votre Majesté, à laquelle M. le Prince d'Orange avoit toujours été opposé, et que s'il vouloit changer de sentimens à l'égard du dedans de l'Angleterre, il falloit le faire aussi à l'égard de votre Majesté, et tenir une conduite différente de celle qu'il a tenue depuis longtems à son égard ; que ce premier pas étoit d'une absolue nécessité, afin qu'il put ajouter quelque foi à ce qui lui seroit dit de la part de M. le Prince d'Orange.

Le Sieur Overkerque n'a rien témoigné à ce discours qu'il n'attendoit peut-être pas. Sa Majesté Britannique m'a dit, que je devois dès aujourd'hui rendre compte à V. M. de ce qui s'est passé à cet égard, et l'assurer, qu'il ne sera fait aucune démarche que de concert avec moi, et selon que V. M. le jugera le plus à-propos ; que la déclaration qu'il a faite à Overkerque fera

comprendre à M. le Prince d'Orange, quel chemin il doit tenir pour se raccommoder avec lui. J'ai dit à sa Majesté Britannique, que je rendrois compte dès aujourd'hui à V. M. du discours de M. Overkerque ; que je prendrois cependant la liberté de lui représenter, sans avoir eu le temps d'y songer, qu'une chose de telle conséquence auroit du être confiée à un homme plus mur et de plus de poids, que M. Overkerque ; que peut-être on lui avoit donné conseil d'aller plus avant que M. le Prince d'Orange ne lui avoit prescrit ; que cette soumission entière, et cette offre si grande, auroit du être exprimée dans la lettre de M. le Prince d'Orange ; que je croyois qu'il seroit sur ses gardes, et ne se laisseroit pas surprendre par des paroles de compliment qui ne sont que dans la bouche d'un envoyé de M. le Prince d'Orange. Sa Majesté Britannique m'a dit, Ne croyez pas que je me laisse tromper n'y amuser. Vous voyez que j'ai voulu d'abord parler nettement, et ôter toute espérance au Prince d'Orange que je voulusse seulement l'admettre à sa justification qu'il n'ait entièrement changé de sentiments et de conduite à l'égard du Roi votre maître.

Je serai appliqué, comme je le dois, à pénétrer ce qui se passera, pour en informer V. M. J'en connois la conséquence. Je suis, &c.

M. Barillon au Roy.

5 Mars, 1685.

J'AI reçu la dépêche de votre Majesté du 26^e. Février par le retour du second courier que j'avois dépêché. J'ai rendu compte au Roi d'Angleterre de ce que V. M. m'ordonne de lui dire sur l'assemblée du parlement, et sur la confiance que V. M. a, qu'il ne se laissera jamais engager à rien qui le puisse détacher des liaisons qu'il a prises avec V. M. Ce Prince m'a témoigné apprendre avec beaucoup de joie, que le projet qu'il a fait d'assembler un parlement au mois de Mai est approuvé de V. M. et que les raisons qu'il a de le faire lui ont paru solides, et bien fondées. Il est certain, que cette déclaration a beaucoup servi à calmer d'abord les esprits. Le nom de parlement est tellement agréable aux Anglois, qu'il peut les empêcher de sentir aussi vivement qu'ils le feroient sans cela, le rétablissement de la messe dans Whitehall, et la profession que le Roi d'Angleterre

fait publiquement d'une religion, contre laquelle les loix ont établi des peines fort sévères. On ne sauroit douter que les esprits ne soient fort mécontents de cet exercice public que sa Majesté Britannique a établi sans balancer. Ils en conçoivent de grands soupçons pour l'avenir, et craignent que le dessein ne soit pris de ruiner la religion Protestante, et de ne souffrir que la Catholique. C'est un projet si difficile dans son exécution, pour ne pas dire impossible, que les gens sensés ne l'appréhendent pas ; mais le peuple est susceptible de toutes sortes d'impressions, et on leur fait croire qu'ils verront la persécution contre les Protestants exercée avec autant de rigueur que du temps de la Reyne Marie, lorsque l'Angleterre étoit encore plus remplie de Catholiques que de Protestans.

Le Roi d'Angleterre et ses ministres font leur possible pour dissiper ces craintes, et pour convaincre tous les gens raisonnables, que l'intention de sa Majesté Britannique est de gouverner selon les loix, et de ne rien entreprendre contre la sûreté de la religion Protestante, pourvu que le Parlement lui accorde le revenu qui est absolument nécessaire pour soutenir le gouvernement ; on présuppose aussi que le Parlement consentira que toute persécution cesse contre les Catholiques, ensorte qu'ils puissent vivre en repos. Je suis informé, que ces questions commencent à être agitées, et l'on parle déjà de ce que le Parlement fera, quand il sera assemblé. On demeure presque d'accord de part et d'autre, que les loix pénales contre les Catholiques seront abolies, et que l'on ne poursuivra plus ceux qui se contenteront de l'exercice de la religion Catholique dans le dedans de leur maison ; on ne fait pas même de doute que la séance du parlement ne soit rendue aux Seigneurs Catholiques.

La plus grande difficulté regarde les charges publiques de la milice et du gouvernement. C'est surquoi il y a de l'apparence que le parlement sera fort ferme. Car l'intérêt des principaux Protestans est, de ne pas laisser l'entrée libre dans les charges aux Catholiques, parcequ'ils croient que la plus part des charges seroient bientôt remplies par eux. On pourra bien trouver quelque tempérament à cet égard. On propose déjà, que les Catholiques puissent avoir quelques charges dans la Maison du Roi d'Angleterre, pourvu que ce ne soit pas des charges qui aient de la jurisdiction, ni du commandement.

Le point le plus important, et qui recevra le plus de difficulté, sera celui

du revenu, que le Roi d'Angleterre prétend avoir pour sa vie. Le Parlement, au contraire, ne le voudra accorder que pour deux ou trois ans, au plus, afin d'établir une nécessité indispensable d'assembler un parlement de temps en temps. Sa Majesté Britannique fera tous ses efforts pour n'y être point obligée; mais si cela ne se peut autrement peut-être qu'à la fin le Roi d'Angleterre se contentera d'obtenir d'abord pour trois ans la confirmation de son revenu, parcequ'il croira le pouvoir ensuite obtenir pour sa vie, et qu'il aura le temps de se mettre en tel état qu'on ne pourra plus le troubler dans une jouissance dont il sera en paisible possession. On pourra peut-être lui accorder quelque chose pour le rétablissement de la flotte; c'est la dépense que le parlement fait le plus volontiers, et qui lui donne le moins de jalousie. Il n'est pas possible qu'on fasse des propositions dangereuses et nuisibles à la royauté; mais les plus sages craindront d'irriter le Roy d'Angleterre, et de lui fournir un prétexte d'établir un gouvernement plus absolu, et d'obtenir par la force ce qui lui aura été refusé par le parlement, au quel cas il lui seroit aisé d'augmenter ce qu'il aura une fois établi contre les loix.

Il est aussi fort apparent, qu'on lui fera sous main diverses propositions pour le détacher peu-à-peu des intérêts de V. M. et l'engager dans d'autres liaisons; mais mon opinion n'est pas, que le Roy d'Angleterre fasse sur cela aucune démarche qui puisse lui faire perdre l'amitié de V. M. Il connoit bien que c'est son plus ferme et son plus solide appui.

Les grands efforts à cet égard ne seront pas sitôt, et les cabales qui se formeront sur cela n'espéreront y réussir qu'avec le temps, et lorsqu'ils verront les affaires de l'Europe dans un autre état que celui auquel elles sont à-present. Cependant, il me paroît que le Roi d'Angleterre est principalement appliqué à ce qui regarde le parlement, et n'obmet aucun soin pour faire, que les membres qui composeront la Chambre des Communes lui soient favorables, et ne se portent pas aux résolutions extrêmes qui ont agité les derniers parlements; on avoit proposé un moyen d'exclure les gens, qu'on peut soupçonner être mal-intentionnés, en déclarant qu'aucun de ceux qui ont été d'avis d'exclure M. le Duc d'York de la succession ne pourroit être élu, et admis à la séance du parlement; mais cet expédient n'a pas été approuvé: ce seroit rendre irréconciliable beaucoup de gens dont on peut attendre une meilleure conduite à l'avenir, L'intention

du Roi d'Angleterre est d'abolir autant qu'il se pourra, la mémoire de ce qui s'est passé sur l'exclusion, d'autant plus que par un usage établi depuis longtemps, il n'est pas permis de rechercher, ni de punir, aucun des membres du parlement pour ce qu'il auroit dit dans l'assemblée.

Les mêmes raisons ont obligé le Roi d'Angleterre à confirmer les principaux officiers de la Maison, et à ne pas chasser Milord Halifax ; cette modération est fort louée à Londres, et par les Protestans zélés : on l'impute à Milord Rochester, qu'on croit avoir eu par là dessein de ménager les esprits, et de donner bonne opinion de lui dans le commencement de son ministère. Cette première démarche n'est pas approuvée des Catholiques ; ils croient que c'est un commencement de relâchement, et que si le sentiment de Milord Rochester prévaut, ils se trouveront à la fin ruinés par les mêmes considérations qu'on a présentement de ménager les gens mal-intentionnés contre eux et contre la royauté. Ils disent que M. le Duc d'York n'a point eu d'ennemis si dangereux que Milord Arlington ; que c'est lui qui a le premier inspiré au feu Roi d'Angleterre les conseils timides qui l'ont mis à deux doits de sa ruine ; que le Comte de Danby n'a fait que suivre ce plan, et que le parlement n'a été incité à la ruine des Catholiques, et à entreprendre d'ôter la succession à M. le Duc d'York, que parcequ'il soutenoit ce projet, et qu'il faisoit toujours espérer au parlement, que sa Majesté Britannique y donneroit les mains, en lui établissant un revenu considérable pendant sa vie.

Les autres officiers conservés, à la réserve du Duc d'Ormond, ont toujours été fort opposés au parti de M. le Duc d'York. On croit qu'ils ne changeront de conduite qu'en apparence, et que s'ils trouvent une occasion de faire paroître leur mauvaise volonté, ils ne la manqueront pas ; que cependant ils peuvent faire beaucoup de mal en donnant courage à ceux qui ont créance en eux, et qui croiront bien faire de suivre les sentiments de gens qui occupent les charges de la cour. Le Roi d'Angleterre a pris cette résolution, sans beaucoup consulter les Catholiques en qui il se fie le plus. Il m'en a parlé encore depuis que l'affaire est déclarée, et m'a dit, qu'il n'avoit pas cru devoir d'abord faire un entier changement dans la Maison ; que ceux qui demeurent en possession de leurs charges craindront de les perdre, et que les autres auront espérance de les remplir ; que tout

cela produira un bon effet dans l'assemblée du Parlement ; et qu'il sera toujours assez temps de faire des changements quand on aura connu comment ceux qui sont demeurés se conduiront ; qu'à l'égard de Milord Arlington, il y auroit eu de la dureté de le déposséder à l'âge où il est, d'une charge dont il ne peut jouir long temps, ses affaires d'ailleurs n'étant pas en bon état ; que s'il avoit changé les autres, on auroit dit qu'il renversoît tout ce que le Roi d'Angleterre avoit établi, et que la résolution étoit prise de changer tout le reste aussi bien que la Maison.

Sa Majesté Britannique a allégué les mêmes raisons aux principaux Catholiques, pour les empêcher de paroître aussi mécontents qu'ils le sont, de ce qui s'est passé à cet égard. Il y a une espèce de conseil établi de quatre personnes entre les Catholiques en qui le Roi d'Angleterre a le plus de créance, et dont les avis sont de plus grands poids auprès de lui. Ce conseil est composé de Milord Arondel, de Milord Bellasis, des Sieurs Talbot et Germain. Les deux derniers ont toujours été attachés à M. le Duc de York, et s'attendoient de voir des changements d'abord. L'un et l'autre prétend un titre, et d'être gentilhomme de la chambre. Cela pourra être dans la suite, mais je ne crois pas que ce soit avant l'assemblée du Parlement. Ils craignent que les mêmes raisons qui leur servent d'obstacle présentement, ne soient pas aisées à surmonter à l'avenir.

Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a dit que M. d'Overkerque lui avoit encore répété les assurances d'une entière soumission de la part du Prince d'Orange, et lui avoit offert ce qu'on appelle la carte blanche ; qu'il avoit conféré sur cela avec Milord Rochester, Milord Sunderland, et Milord Godolphin, qui avoient tous trois été d'avis de répondre d'une manière qui put faire connoître, dans la suite, si les offres de M. le Prince d'Orange sont sincères ; que pour cela il lui avoit répété plus au long ce qu'il lui avoit dit d'abord, sur le sujet de V. M., et lui avoit déclaré, qu'à moins que M. le Prince d'Orange ne changeât entièrement de sentiments et de conduite à l'égard de la France, il lui seroit impossible de croire que son intention fût, d'être véritablement dans ses intérêts, parcequ'il n'en avoit point de plus considérable, que de conserver l'amitié de V. M. ; qu'il étoit aussi nécessaire de renoncer à toute sorte de commerce et de liaison avec M. le Duc de Monmouth ; et pour donner une preuve claire et certaine de son

changement à cet égard, il eut à casser incessamment les officiers des troupes Angloises dont la fidélité étoit suspecte, et qu'on a sujet de croire attachés à M. le Duc de Monmouth; qu'à moins que M. le Prince d'Orange ne se resolve à faire tout cela d'une manière convenable, le Sieur Chidley ne recevra point d'ordre de traiter avec lui, n'y de le voir, et sa Majesté Britannique ne croira point que les assurances de sa soumission soient sincères.

Je dis au Roy d'Angleterre, que j'avois eu le temps de penser à ce qu'il m'avoit fait l'honneur de me dire, mais que je ne pouvois rien décider de mon chef; qu'il falloit attendre ce que V. M. m'ordonneroit, pour lui pouvoir rien dire qui fût d'aucun poids; que cependant, je le priois de considérer s'il y avoit de l'apparence que M. le Prince d'Orange eut sitôt résolu de changer de mesures et de conduite, ne pouvant encore savoir avec certitude combien tout est paisible en Angleterre, qu'ainsi on doit présumer, ou que ce que dit M. Overkerque lui est inspiré ici, ou que M. le Prince d'Orange peut bien lui avoir donné ordre de faire toutes sortes de soumissions en cas que les affaires soient de manière en Angleterre, qu'il n'y ait aucune apparence de trouble et de désordre; que M. le Prince d'Orange est naturellement si opiniâtre, et si peu docile, que difficilement se résoudra-t-il à rien promettre que d'opposé à tout ce qu'il a fait jusques a-présent; que quand il le promettrait, et donneroit sur cela de fortes assurances, il n'y auroit guère d'apparence qu'il renoncât de bonne foi aux engagements qu'il a pris avec la Maison d'Autriche, et avec les autres Princes opposés aux intérêts de V. M., et jaloux de sa gloire; que V. M., de son côté, ne redonneroit pas aisément ses bonnes grâces à M. le Prince d'Orange, et qu'après tout ce qu'il a fait, il ne doit pas espérer qu'un simple compliment efface le passé, et que V. M. puisse ajouter foi aisément aux assurances qui lui seront données de sa part; que V. M. ne désire rien d'avantage que de voir sa Majesté Britannique reconnue universellement de ses sujets, et en jouissance paisible de sa couronne; mais que je ne doute pas que les soumissions de M. le Prince d'Orange ne lui paroissent fort dangereuses, et qu'elle ne trouve sur-tout beaucoup d'inconvéniens et de péril à laisser venir ici M. le Prince d'Orange, qui pourra, par sa présence, donner du mouvement, et de la force, aux cabales qui sont si aisées à former en une conjoncture comme celle qui est à présent.

Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a répondu, qu'il ne croyoit pas que M. le Prince d'Orange prît le parti de demander à venir ici sitôt ; que s'il y venoit, et que sa conduite fût tant soit peu douteuse, il sauroit bien les moyens de le remettre dans son devoir, et l'empêcheroit d'exciter aucun trouble ; que s'il se soumettoit entièrement, et qu'il eut assez de sagesse pour changer de conduite à l'égard des affaires du dedans et de celles du dehors, on le connoîtroit bientôt ; qu'il ne se laisseroit point tromper ; et que son principal soin seroit toujours de conserver l'amitié de V. M. et de ne rien faire qui put en aucune façon être opposé à ses intérêts.

Les Ministres m'ont parlé dans le même sens que sa Majesté Britannique. Milord Rochester est Grand Trésorier, et a le principal crédit, ainsi il désire tout ce qui peut conserver le repos et la tranquillité, et son sentiment est, que le Roi son maître ne hazarde rien d'éprouver quelle sera la conduite du Prince d'Orange à son égard, et croit qu'on doit lui ouvrir le chemin de rentrer dans son devoir. Il est oncle de la Princesse d'Orange, et par conséquent sa pente seroit de pouvoir concilier les intérêts du Roi régnant avec celui des héritiers présomptifs. Mais comme il est bon courtisan, et qu'il connoît fort bien que le Roi son maître prendra assez aisément de la jalousie et du soupçon contre ceux qui pencheront trop du côté du Prince d'Orange, il témoigne fort ouvertement désirer, préférablement à tout, que sa Majesté Britannique ménage l'amitié de V. M., sans laquelle, il connoît les difficultés qu'il y auroit de soutenir le gouvernement.

Milord Sunderland sent bien la supériorité qu'a sur lui Milord Rochester, par sa charge de Grand Trésorier. Toute son application est d'entrer aussi avant qu'aucun autre ministre dans tous les sentiments du Roi son maître, et de conserver une part secrète dans sa confiance, en lui faisant connoître qu'il ne peut avoir aucun autre attachement qu'à lui ; je sais qu'il a parlé avec beaucoup de chaleur à sa Majesté Britannique, pour montrer combien M. le Prince d'Orange pouvoit nuire au bon état où sont les affaires présentement ; et qu'un héritier présomptif sera regardé en Angleterre comme pouvant seul rémédier aux inconvéniens d'avoir un Roi d'une Religion opposée à celle de ses sujets. Milord Godolphin penche plutôt du côté de Milord Sunderland, avec qui ses anciennes liaisons subsistent. Il est encore fort abattu de la perte qu'il a faite. Il est admis

dans les délibérations les plus secrètes. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'en paroît fort content, et m'a dit qu'il lui trouve plus de fermeté et de hardiesse, qu'il n'en attendoit.

Cependant tout est ici dans un fort grand calme, et il ne paroît rien qui puisse le troubler ; mais dans le fond les esprits sont fort agités. Le peuple ne sauroit voir célébrer la messe dans Whitehall sans un extrême dépit, et sans craindre que cela n'ait des suites. Les gens mal-intentionnés fomentent sous main ces craintes, et inspirent des soupçons, que le Roi d'Angleterre ne se croira point en sûreté qu'il n'ait entièrement établi la religion Catholique en Angleterre, et qu'il n'ait ôté aux Protestans les moyens de leur nuire. Il seroit fort difficile de juger, si les affaires demeureront dans le calme où elles sont ; il ne faut qu'un refus de payer les droits dont le Roi d'Angleterre s'est mis en possession pour former une contestation qui pourroit avoir des suites. L'opinion des gens les plus habiles est, que tout sera en repos jusques à l'assemblée du parlement, et que si les affaires s'y passent doucement, il ne sera pas impossible de maintenir ce pays-ci en repos. Le zèle de la religion Protestante, et la crainte d'un gouvernement plus absolu, sont des semences de division dans les esprits, qui peut éclater aux moindres occasions qui s'en présenteront. Mais les gens sages craignent de voir commencer les désordres ; ils se souviennent encore des malheurs des guerres civiles, et ceux qui ont à perdre ne se laissent pas émouvoir aisément. Ils sont même tous dans l'opinion que le parlement peut prendre les précautions nécessaires pour empêcher les progrès de la religion Catholique, et l'augmentation du pouvoir souverain. Cela s'agite présentement, et l'on va être fort occupé dans les provinces des élections. On pourra former quelque jugement de ce qui arrivera dans le parlement quand on saura de quelles gens la Chambre des Communes sera composée. Je sais, que quoique la Cour prenne grand soin d'avoir des députés favorables, il y aura beaucoup d'endroits où le parti des patriotes sera supérieur, et où l'on élira des gens dont les sentiments seront entièrement opposés à ce que la Cour désirera.

J'aurai l'application que je dois pour savoir quelles cabales se formeront pour en informer V. M. J'ai pris des mesures pour lui pouvoir rendre compte de ce qu'il lui a plu m'ordonner par sa dépêche du 20^e. Il

faut du temps pour cela. Jusques à-présent, les places, les ports de mer, les troupes, et les vaisseaux paroissent être dans les mains de gens qui sont fort attachés à la royauté ; mais tout cela recevroit de grands changements, s'il arrivoit des désordres, et que la guerre commençât sur un prétexte de religion ou de changement des loix.

Je ne vois personne qui croye que le Duc de Monmouth ôse seulement se montrer en aucun endroit. Il sait assez, que le Roi d'Angleterre ne lui pardonneroit pas. Le pardon qu'il a obtenu du feu Roi n'est valable que pour l'Angleterre, ainsi son procès lui pourroit être fait en Ecosse fort aisément. On prétend même, que depuis son pardon obtenu, il a eu avec quelques uns des conspirateurs un commerce qui le rend coupable.

L'Ambassadeur d'Espagne a demandé au Roi d'Angleterre comment il désiroit que M. le Duc de Monmouth fût traité à Bruxelles ? Sa réponse, à ce que ce Prince m'a dit, à été, que ce n'étoit pas une chose sur quoi on le dût consulter : que la conduite de M. le Duc de Monmouth à son égard n'étoit ignorée de personne ; et qu'à dire la vérité, il ne savoit pas quel dessein pouvoit avoir M. le Duc de Monmouth, en demeurant si près des côtes d'Angleterre dans la conjoncture présente.

Sa Majesté Britannique m'a dit aussi, que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne lui avoit parlé du traité d'alliance, qui avoit été conclu il y a quelque temps entre le feu Roi d'Angleterre et sa Majesté Catholique, au quel il ne doutoit pas que sa Majesté Britannique ne se crût obligée, en la même façon que l'étoit le feu Roi son frère ; que sa réponse avoit été, qu'il étoit fort peu instruit dans ces sortes de matières ; que si l'Ambassadeur désiroit quelque éclaircissement sur cela, il pouvoit présenter un mémoire, qui seroit examiné par ses Ministres afin de lui faire une réponse dans les formes. L'Ambassadeur d'Espagne a été embarrassé de cette réponse, et a bien compris, que le Roi d'Angleterre ne se tient pas obligé au traité fait par le Roi son frère. Je lui ai dit, qu'outre que les règles ordinaires ne l'engageoient pas à ce traité, il se souvenoit que le feu Roi d'Angleterre s'en tenoit lui même suffisamment dégagé par le refus des Espagnols de se soumettre à son arbitrage, et par le changement des affaires depuis ce temps là ; puis qu'ensuite d'une guerre il s'étoit fait un traité de trêve dans la

garantie du quel le Roi d'Angleterre ne s'étoit pas trop mis en peine d'entrer, et que c'étoit à lui à voir ce qui lui conviendra sur cela. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a dit, Je ne me tiens en aucune façon obligé au traité qu'a fait le Roi mon frère avec l'Espagne, mais je me tiens fort obligé à conserver l'amitié et l'appui du Roi votre maître, et je ferai mon possible pour les mériter.

Je suis, &c.

BARILLON.

Le Roi à M. Barillon.

Mars 9, 1685.

MONSIEUR BARILLON j'ai reçu votre lettre des 26 Fevr. et 1 de ce mois, et j'ai vu avec plaisir par la première, que le Roi d'Angleterre a été aussi sensiblement touché que je le pouvois désirer des moyens que je vous ai donnés de l'assister dans ses plus pressans besoins, sans attendre qu'il m'en eut requis; mais quoique je crois que la déclaration que vous lui en avez faite sans aucune reserve, ait produit de très-bons effets, et qu'elle ait parfaitement bien persuadé ce Prince du solide fondement qu'il doit faire sur mon amitié, et combien il la doit préférer à toute autre; néanmoins, il auroit été bon, ainsi que je vous l'ai ordonné par ma dépêche du 20 Fevrier, d'attendre qu'il eût eu un plus pressant besoin de ce secours, y ayant de l'apparence, qu'à-présent que vous vous en êtes entièrement expliqué, ses ministres vous presseront de leur remettre incessamment tout ce fonds entre les mains. Quoi qu'il en soit, je laisse à-présent à votre prudence, de vous conduire en cela d'une manière qui ne puisse point déplaire au Roi ny diminuer l'obligation qu'il m'a, d'une preuve si essentielle de mon amitié.

Pour ce qui regarde ce que vous m'aviez engagé de payer au feu Roi d'Angleterre, comme vous avez assez reconnu par les ordres que je vous ai donnés, et par les lettres que vous m'avez écrites, que je n'ai accordé deux millions de livres que pour le premier payement, et quinze cens mille livres pour chacun des deux autres qui ont fini au mois d'Avril de l'année dernière, il vous auroit été facile de désabuser le Comte de Rochester, et les autres Ministres, de leur prétentions mal-fondées; et pour l'avenir, comme je ne prétends pas abandonner le Roi d'Angleterre dans

ses besoins, il faut aussi espérer, que le nouveau Parlement qu'il convoque sera disposé à lui donner dans le commencement de son règne tous les moyens qui lui sont nécessaires pour soutenir sa dignité. Il doit cependant prendre d'autant plus de confiance dans la continuation de mon amitié, que je vous ay mis par avance, et de mon pur mouvement, en état de lui en donner des marques bien effectives.

Le Roi d'Angleterre ne pouvoit prendre un meilleur parti pour le bien de son état, et le soulagement de sa conscience, que d'entendre la messe publiquement, et cet acte de fermeté est plus capable d'inspirer le respect et la crainte à ses sujets, que de donner de nouvelles forces aux mécontents : vous avez vu par ma dernière dépêche qu'il a prévenu en cela mes sentiments, et que je n'aurois pas pu approuver une longue dissimulation de la religion qu'il professe. Vous lui témoignerez aussi, que j'apprens avec plaisir que son autorité s'affermît de jour à autre par la soumission de tous ses sujets, et que je m'assure, que sa bonne conduite dissipera toutes les cabales qui pourroient troubler le repos de son règne.

Milord Churchill m'a parlé dans le sens que vous m'avez écrit, et j'ai ordonné au Maréchal de Lorge de partir incessamment pour aller faire mes complimens de condoléance aux Roi et Reines d'Angleterre, et témoigner au premier la part que je prens à son heureux avènement à la couronne de ses ancêtres : quelque murmure que puisse exciter la continuation de la levée des mêmes droits qui ont été accordés au feu Roi d'Angleterre, il y a lieu de croire, qu'il s'appaisera par la convocation et l'assemblée du parlement ; mais quelque effet qu'elle produise, le Roi d'Angleterre fait très-sagement de se conserver ce moyen de subvenir aux besoins de son état. Il me paroît aussi, qu'il est plus prudent de se faire couronner avant la tenue du Parlement, que lorsqu'il sera assemblé ; et je serai bien aise que vous m'informiez de toutes les difficultés qui naîtront sur cette affaire, et des tempéraments qui seront prls pour en sortir.

Vous avez raison de faire connoître au Roi d'Angleterre qu'il ne doit pas ajouter une entière croyance à tout ce que le Sieur Overkerque peut avancer de lui-même sous le nom du Prince d'Orange : mais quand même il seroit bien autorisé, le Roi d'Angleterre est trop bien informé des emportemens que le Prince d'Orange a fait paroître contre lui lorsqu'il

n'étoit que Duc d'York, et contre la religion qu'il professe, même depuis l'avènement du dit Roi à la couronne, pour croire, que les protestations qui lui seront faites de la part du Prince d'Orange soient bien sincères ; et si le Ministre d'Angleterre à la Haye rend au dit Roi son maître un compte fidèle de tout ce qu'il a entendu, et connu par lui-même, des sentiments du dit Prince d'Orange, il jugera bien que l'intention de ce Prince n'est que de se servir, contre les intérêts du Roi, non seulement de la facilité qu'il trouvera à se remettre dans ses bonnes grâces, mais aussi, des seules marques extérieures qu'il pourra recevoir de la bienveillance du Roi ; et il ne peut pas plus mortifier le Prince d'Orange, et le rendre soumis, qu'en rejetant avec hauteur toutes les propositions qu'il fait pour l'amuser ; et l'empêchant, sur toutes choses, de passer en Angleterre.

Continuez à m'informer exactement de tout ce qui se passe de plus considérable à la Cour où vous êtes, ne doutant pas que ce nouveau gouvernement ne vous en fournisse d'amples matières.

Extrait d'une Lettre du Roi à M. Barillon.

Mars 16, 1685.

IL y a bien de l'apparence que le Roi d'Angleterre faisant à-présent une profession si publique de la religion Catholique demandera bientôt au Pape des évêques de sa communion ; et comme il ne faut pas douter que sa Sainteté ne les choisisse du clergé d'Angleterre, parmi lesquels je suis averti qu'il y a bien des gens qui sont imbus de la doctrine de Jansenisme, je serai aise que vous fassiez connoître adroitement au Roi l'intérêt qu'il a de les bien discerner, ensorte que si le bon exemple qu'il donne à tous ses sujets est aussi suivi qu'il est à désirer, ce royaume, sortant d'une hérésie, ne tombe pas dans un autre qui ne seroit guères moins dangereuse.

M. Barillon au Roi.

16 Avril, 1685.

J'AI exécuté avec le plus de ponctualité qu'il m'a été possible, les ordres de votre Majesté portés par sa dépêche du 6 Avril. J'ai tâché de faire com-

prendre au Roi d'Angleterre et à ses Ministres, que votre Majesté lui avoit déjà donné des marques essentielles de son amitié, en prévenant même ses demandes ; que V. M. continueroit à le secourir dans ses besoins ; et que son dessein étoit de faire plus qu'elle ne promettroit ; que cependant V. M. estimoit qu'il suffisoit de sa part d'exécuter plutôt que de promettre ; et que sans aucun engagement, elle m'avoit envoyé le fonds d'une somme considérable. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a témoigné être fort sensible à ce que V. M. fait pour lui ; mais il m'a dit que l'état de ses affaires étoit tel qu'il avoit des mesures à prendre de loin, et qu'il ne pouvoit entreprendre ce qu'il a résolu, sans être assuré positivement de ce que V. M. voudra faire en sa faveur ; que V. M. connoitra par sa conduite à l'avenir quel sera son attachement à ses intérêts ; qu'il sera toujours au pouvoir de V. M. de retracter ce qu'elle auroit promis s'il ne se conduisoit pas en la manière que V. M. peut désirer ; que puisque V. M. veut bien le secourir, ce sera une nouvelle obligation de lui vouloir mettre l'esprit en repos en lui promettant ce qu'il demande ; parce que l'incertitude sur cela ne lui permettroit pas d'agir avec la fermeté nécessaire, et qu'une conduite douteuse et incertaine de sa part rendroit ses ennemis plus hardis, et ses amis plus timides.

Cette réponse m'a fait entrer plus avant en matière avec ce Prince. Je lui ai expliqué ce qui s'étoit passé avec le feu Roi d'Angleterre ; je lui ai fait remarquer, que le traité, quoiqu'il n'eût été que verbal, a été exécuté et accompli ponctuellement de part et d'autre ; que V. M. a achevé le paiement de ce qui avoit été promis ; et que le feu Roi d'Angleterre s'étoit aussi tenu exactement à l'engagement qu'il avoit pris de favoriser les prétentions de V. M. contre l'Espagne, et de ne point assembler de parlement ; que présentement V. M. ne demandoit rien de sa Majesté Britannique, qui lui put causer le moindre embarras, n'ayant rien plus à cœur que l'affermissement de la paix générale ; que cependant son dessein étoit de lui donner des marques essentielles de son amitié, et de l'aider à maintenir son autorité, et à établir la religion Catholique, que ces deux choses paroissent unies, et ne se pouvoient séparer ; que V. M. avoit résolu d'y contribuer par un motif d'amitié et d'estime pour la personne de sa Majesté Britannique, et par le zèle qu'elle a pour la religion ; que quoi qu'il n'y ait point de stipulation expresse, V. M. sera suffisamment engagée par ce qu'elle a fait d'abord,

à continuer à l'avenir ce qui est si bien commencé ; qu'ainsi on peut tenir pour assuré, que V. M. ne se démentira pas, et voudra soutenir ce qu'elle entreprend sur des fondemens qui ne changeront pas.

Le Roi d'Angleterre m'a répondu à cela, qu'il n'étoit pas en droit d'exiger de V. M. plus qu'elle ne croit devoir faire. Mais qu'il a agi franchement avec moi en représentant ses besoins, et que la demande qu'il a faite présuppose toute sorte d'engagemens de sa part, et une volonté déterminée d'être entièrement attaché à V. M.; qu'ainsi V. M. n'a qu'à lui prescrire ce qui conviendra à ses intérêts, pour lui faire prendre la conduite qui lui sera la plus agréable ; que quand V. M. sera informée à fonds des affaires de ce pays-ci, elle connoitra qu'il est décisif de bien commencer, et de le mettre en état de ne pas se relâcher d'abord ; qu'on ne peut pourtant prendre une conduite ferme et haute, si on n'est bien assuré d'un secours qui ne puisse manquer ; et qu'il ne seroit plus saison de négocier sur le plus ou le moins quand le temps de s'en servir seroit venu.

J'ai dit à ce Prince, qu'il voyoit que V. M. commence par l'exécution, et qu'ainsi il n'est pas si essentiel de s'arrêter à la forme et à la manière de promettre ; qu'il est nécessaire seulement que les affaires prennent ici un bon chemin, et que dans la suite V. M. ne manquera pas d'aider les premiers progrès, et de faciliter le succès des desseins de sa Majesté Britannique en faveur de la royauté, et de la religion Catholique.

J'ai eu plusieurs conférences avec les Ministres, ensemble et séparément ; ils m'ont répondu fort froidement lorsque je leur ai parlé ensemble ; Milord Rochester, qui porte la parole, m'a répondu, qu'ils avoient déjà su ce que j'avois dit au Roi leur maître, et que leur sentiment ne pouvoit être différent du sien ; que la nécessité de ses affaires l'obligeoit à avoir recours à V. M.; qu'il étoit question présentement d'établir son autorité, et de donner une forme assurée au gouvernement ; que je connoissois assez combien il importe d'être en état ici de donner la loi, et non pas de la recevoir ; que c'est à moi à le représenter à V. M., et que pour eux, ils se sont acquittés de leur devoir, en exposant sincèrement les besoins de leur maître à un ami qui peut y remédier, s'il le trouve à-propos.

Je lui ai répondu ce que j'avois déjà dit au Roi d'Angleterre. J'ai entretenu Milord Rochester en particulier, et nous avons agité les matières à

fonds ; je me suis renfermé à dire, que V. M. exécute au lieu de promettre, qu'on voit par là ce qu'on en peut attendre ; qu'il est inusité de prétendre que V. M. prenne des engagements pour fournir des subsides pendant plusieurs années, quand sa Majesté Britannique, de son côté, n'est obligé à rien ; qu'il est vrai que V. M. n'a rien à lui demander présentement ; qu'aussi croit-elle être en droit de lui donner des marques de son amitié sans qu'on exige rien d'avantage que ce qu'elle croira devoir faire selon les conjonctures qui se présenteront ; que l'on ne peut douter que V. M. ne veuille continuer comme elle a commencé, et qu'on se doit reposer sur sa bonne foi et sur son amitié.

Milord Rochester m'a dit à cela, que s'il ne connoissoit à fonds les dessein et les intentions du Roi son maître, il ne m'auroit pas pressé de faire ensorte que V. M. lui fournit d'abord une somme considérable, et lui promet un subside pour trois ans ; que ce qu'on fait de la part de V. M. présentement doit être considéré comme une marque d'amitié, et qu'on s'en accommoderoit ici mieux que d'un plus grand engagement, si on n'avoit pas résolu de s'unir étroitement avec V. M., et de ne se pas démentir dans la suite ; que si l'on n'étoit pas de bonne foi, et qu'on ne regardât pas l'amitié de V. M. comme le fondement de la conduite qu'on veut tenir ; on se contenteroit d'une liaison présente : et que le Roi son maître, après s'être établi, considéroit quel parti il a à prendre ; et que, sans manquer aux obligations qu'il avoit à V. M., il se trouveroit alors en état de former un plan de sa conduite, tel qu'il croiroit le plus convenable à ses intérêts ; que dès-à-présent il veut prendre un chemin qui dure autant que son règne, et s'attacher pour toujours ; que l'on a vu que la liaison formée entre V. M. et le feu Roi d'Angleterre a produit de bons effets pour l'un et pour l'autre, que la même chose arrivera, si on s'entend bien d'abord, et qu'on commence de la part de V. M. à mettre le Roi d'Angleterre en pouvoir de suivre son inclination, et ses véritables intérêts.

J'ai répondu à ce Ministre, que le traité fait avec le feu Roi d'Angleterre avoit été accompli exactement de part et d'autre ; qu'il contenoit des conditions et des avantages réciproques, que l'on ne pouvoit pas dire la même chose de ce qui se traite à-présent, V. M. n'ayant rien à souhaiter du Roi d'Angleterre, et voulant pourtant contribuer gratuitement à l'établir, et à

le mettre en état de régner paisiblement, et avec tranquillité. Milord Rochester m'a répliqué à cela, que le traité que nous avons fait ne contenoit point de conditions réciproques ; que le feu Roi ne s'étoit point engagé à ne point assembler de Parlement, ni à renoncer formellement à son traité avec l'Espagne ; que V. M. avoit bien connu que dans le fonds elle tireroit les mêmes avantages, et que le feu Roi d'Angleterre avoit aussi été fortifié dans ses résolutions par le secours que V. M. lui avoit fourni, et s'étoit même dispensé d'assembler son parlement, et de défendre l'Espagne lorsqu'il en a été le plus pressé ; que le même cas arrivera, et que quoique V. M. n'exige rien du Roi son maître, il ne peut prendre le parti de s'attacher à V. M. sans renoncer aux avantages qu'il pourroit tirer du Parlement dans d'autres temps, et à tout engagement avec l'Espagne ; qu'il sera question, dès que le Parlement sera assemblé, d'obtenir la continuation des revenus, mais qu'après cela, il n'en faut rien attendre que des conditions dures et périlleuses, aux quelles le Roi son maître ne consentira jamais ; qu'ainsi on subsistera comme on faisoit du temps du feu Roi, et avec moins de ménagement encore pour les Espagnols, n'ayant point de traité avec eux, comme il y en avoit un dont on pressoit toujours l'exécution. J'ai dit à cela, qu'il n'étoit pas question présentement d'examiner à quelles conditions nous avions traité du temps du feu Roi, puisque le traité avoit été exécuté et accompli de bonne foi de part et d'autre ; que la conjoncture étoit entièrement différente, et que V. M. n'attendoit rien de sa Majesté Britannique, et n'avoit pour but que de lui donner des marques solides de son amitié. J'ai remarqué, dans tout ce qui s'est passé entre Milord Rochester et moi, qu'il n'est point entré dans la proposition d'un nouveau traité, et il m'a paru au contraire éviter d'entendre ce que je lui ai dit sur cela. Il s'est toujours renfermé à dire, qu'il faut faire ce qu'on a fait, parce qu'on s'en est bien trouvé de part et d'autre.

Milord Sunderland a compris d'abord qu'il étoit bien plus à-propos de prendre des engagements formels et réciproques ; que le Roy son maître doit rechercher tout ce qui lui peut assurer l'amitié de votre Majesté. Il pose pour un fondement assuré, que le Parlement, le Prince d'Orange, et la Maison d'Autriche doivent être considérés comme ayant des intérêts inséparables, et qu'il est impossible de désunir ; qu'ainsi pour être bien avec

votre Majesté, il faut non seulement s'abstenir de toute liaison avec eux, mais même s'en séparer avec éclat, et lever le masque quand il en sera tems ; c'est-à-dire, après que le Parlement aura accordé les revenus. Je suis demeuré dans une grande retenue sur les nouveaux engagemens qu'on pourroit prendre ; je me suis contenté d'insinuer la proposition que votre Majesté m'a ordonné de faire à cet égard, et j'ai cru devoir la faire naître plus comme une suite naturelle de ce qui se traitoit, que comme une ouverture de la part de votre Majesté. Milord Godolfin m'a parlé dans le même sens que Milord Rochester ; quoiqu'il soit du secret, il n'a pas grand credit, et songe seulement à se conserver par une conduite sage et modérée. Je ne pense pas que s'il en étoit cru, on prit des liaisons avec votre Majesté qui pussent aller à se passer entièrement de parlement, et à rompre nettement avec le Prince d'Orange.

J'eus hier au soir un long entretien avec le Roi d'Angleterre ; nous répétames tout ce qui avoit été dit avec les Ministres, dont ils lui avoient rendu compte. Je connus bien que Milord Sunderland lui avoit parlé à fond, de ce que nous avions dit, et lui avoit représenté la nécessité de ne rien ménager, pour former une liaison entière avec V. M. Ce Prince me dit, que je savois mieux ses intentions et ses desseins que ses propres ministres ; qu'il ne s'étoit pas ouvert à eux autant qu'il a fait à moi sur l'établissement de la religion Catholique ; qu'avant la séance du Parlement il falloit cacher ses desseins et ne pas laisser pénétrer jusqu'où il vouloit conduire les affaires ; qu'au fond il connoissoit que sa sûreté dépendoit d'une étroite union avec V. M. et de mettre la religion Catholique en état de ne pouvoir être détruite ; que son dessein est d'en venir à bout dès qu'il le pourra ; que cependant, je dois représenter à V. M. combien il lui importe d'être assisté dans un si grand dessein ; que ses premières démarches avec le Parlement seront décisives ; que ceux qui le voudront traverser n'oublieront rien pour l'empêcher de réussir ; que V. M. connoitra peut-être trop tard, ce qu'il auroit fallu faire, et que ce qui sera nécessaire présentement est beaucoup moindre que ce que V. M. voudroit contribuer à l'avenir si elle voyoit la royauté, et la religion Catholique, en état d'être ruinées en Angleterre.

J'ai dit à ce Prince qu'il voyoit quelles sont les intentions de V. M. à

son égard, que je pouvois tous les jours l'avertir de ce qui se passe ici, et qu'il ne falloit pas douter que V. M. ne prit les résolutions qui conviendront à l'état des affaires ; que votre amitié pour sa personne, et votre zèle pour la religion, ne vous permettroient pas de l'abandonner dans ses besoins ; que la conduite que V. M. tient à son égard seroit soutenue, et ne se démentira pas ; qu'aussi de son côté, il doit être appliqué à ménager une amitié qu'il juge lui être si avantageuse. Sa Majesté Britannique me dit, en me congédiant, " Je me fie entièrement à ce que vous me dites ; mais représentez au Roi votre maître, que ce qu'il fera présentement me mettra l'esprit en repos, et m'obligera d'agir avec une fermeté et une confiance que je ne puis avoir si je ne suis pleinement assuré."

De tout ce qui m'a été dit par le Roi d'Angleterre, et par ses Ministres, il me paroît que l'on n'insiste pas tant présentement sur la promesse d'un secours à l'avenir, que sur une somme présente. J'ai dit, ainsi que V. M. me l'a permis, que j'aurois incessamment un fonds de neuf cens mille livres ; mais, si V. M. ne me permet pas de rien fournir de cette somme, c'est comme s'il n'y en avoit point ; on ne croira pas même qu'elle y soit, si on voit que je ne fasse pas les payements quand ils me seront demandés.

Le Roi d'Angleterre seroit, à ce que je puis juger, pleinement content si V. M. prenoit la résolution de faire remettre encore onze cens mille livres ici, avant la séance du parlement, en sorte qu'il pût faire état de toucher deux millions pendant que le parlement sera assemblé. Cela pourroit dans la suite être réputé comme une année d'un subsidé, et si on convenoit d'en accorder un pour les années suivantes, on pourroit ne les faire commencer que du mois d'Octobre prochain, et peut-être même du mois de Janvier 1686. V. M. m'ordonnera ce qui sera de son service. Je ne tiendrai en état d'exécuter ses ordres à la lettre, sans rien faire de mon chef, que ce qui me sera prescrit.

Les Ambassadeurs de Hollande ont eu une audience particulière, et sans cérémonie ; la difficulté subsiste toujours à l'égard de leur entrée et de leur audience publique ; ils veulent avoir un Comte d'Angleterre, comme a eu l'Ambassadeur de Savoye, il n'y a pas d'apparence qu'ils l'obtiennent, et le Roi d'Angleterre paroît résolu de ne rien changer au traitement ordinaire à leur égard.

La santé de la Reine d'Angleterre n'est pas en bon état ; les personnes qui l'approchent de plus près croient qu'elle ne vivra pas long temps ; son mal est une espèce de fluxion sur la poitrine avec des coliques violentes qui la reprennent souvent ; elle se croit elle-même en péril.

Je suis, &c.

BARILLON.

Le Roi à M. Barillon.

24 Avril, 1685.

MONSIEUR BARILLON, j'ai reçu vos lettres des 16 et 19 de ce mois, et quoique je me fusse attendu que le Roi d'Angleterre auroit été fort content des grands secours d'argent que je vous fais remettre incessamment pour subvenir, sans aucune stipulation, à ses plus pressants besoins, au cas que l'assemblée prochaine du Parlement ne lui accorde pas ce qu'il désire, tant pour l'établissement des mêmes revenus pendant sa vie dont le feu Roi son frère a joui jusque à sa mort, que pour le libre exercice de la religion Catholique dans son royaume, néanmoins ce Prince vous a fait connoître, que s'il n'étoit pas assuré de ma part d'une assistance plus considérable il se verroit dans la nécessité d'avoir des ménagements pour le Parlement, qui seroient fort préjudiciables à l'affermissement de l'autorité royale, et par conséquent au bien de la religion Catholique ; mais quoiqu'il ait d'autant plus de sujet de prendre une entière confiance aux sentiments d'estime et d'amitié que j'ai pour lui, qu'il voye bien que j'apporte toutes les diligences possibles à lui en faire ressentir les effets, sans lui demander aucuns autres engagements dans mes intérêts que ceux que sa gratitude et sa bonne foi le pourroit porter à prendre quand les occasions s'en présenteront, je veux bien toutes fois lui donner encore de plus grandes preuves de la considération que je fais sur tout ce qu'il vous a représenté, et de la sincérité avec laquelle je veux concourir à tout ce qui peut être de ses avantages : c'est pour cet effet qu'outre les cinq cens mille livres que je vous fis remettre aussitôt que j'appris la mort du feu Roi, et que vous devez avoir encore entre les mains, on continuera à vous faire tenir incessamment les neuf cens mille livres que je vous ai promis par ma dépêche du 6^e, et je ferai joindre en-

core une somme de deux cens mille écus, afin que vous puissiez avoir en main pendant l'assemblée du Parlement jusqu'à la concurrence de deux millions ; mais comme j'apprens avec plaisir que presque tous les membres du Parlement sont très-bien intentionnés pour les intérêts du Roi, et qu'à-peine en connoit on cinq ou six, qui y soient opposés, il y a bien de l'apparence que ce Prince n'aura pas besoin d'un grand fonds, pour se rendre favorables les délibérations du dit Parlement, et qu'en tout cas il se contentera de faire espérer des récompenses à ceux qui feront bien leur devoir : je consens néanmoins, que vous fassiez payer jusqu'à quatre cens mille livres, pour fournir aux gratifications que le Roi jugera à-propos de faire pendant cette assemblée ; et à l'égard des seize cens mille livres restans, vous ne vous en désaisirez qu'en cas que la conduite du Parlement soit assez mauvaise pour obliger le Roi à le casser, ou qu'il trouve d'ailleurs de si fortes oppositions à l'établissement d'un libre exercice de la religion Catholique, qu'il soit obligé d'employer ses armes contre ses propres sujets.

Enfin, mon intention est de le secourir de bonne foi, au cas qu'il en ait effectivement besoin, pour l'affermissement de son autorité, et pour le bien de notre religion ; mais, si son Parlement se porte de lui-même à faire ce que le Roi désire, mon intention est que vous réserviez le fonds que je vous fais remettre, jusqu'à ce qu'il me paroisse d'une nécessité pressante de l'employer ; et cependant, je consens, ainsi que je viens de vous dire, que vous fassiez payer aux Ministres du Roi, avant la tenue du Parlement, jusqu'à la somme de quatre cens mille livres, au cas que le dit Roi les demande. Je m'assure qu'après que vous aurez fait connoître à ce Prince quelles sont mes dernières intentions, je n'aurai plus de sa part que des remerciements des efforts que je fais pour procurer ses avantages ; mais si, contre mon opinion, on vouloit encore faire quelques tentatives pour tirer de moi de plus grands secours, il est bon que vous ôtiez toute espérance de l'obtenir, et que vous fassiez même connoître, que j'apprendrois avec déplaisir que le Roi ne fût pas content des grandes preuves que je lui donne de mon amitié.

Il vous sera facile de tirer le Roi d'Angleterre de l'inquiétude que lui donne la déclaration que le Marquis de Feuquieres a fait par mon ordre au Roi d'Espagne, et à ses ministres, et je vous dépêche ce courier exprès afin

que vous puissiez informer le Roi d'Angleterre, sans aucun retardement, que je suis d'autant plus satisfait de la réponse du dit Roi Catholique, qu'outre qu'il traite la proposition de céder au Duc de Bavière les Pays Bas, ou de lui en abandonner le gouvernement, de pure chimère, il me donne d'ailleurs des assurances positives d'observer religieusement la trêve, et de se conformer en toutes choses à ce qu'elle contient ; ensorte que je n'ai pas lieu de croire, que ce Prince veuille apporter aucun changement à l'état présent des Pays Bas : et comme je n'ai point eu d'autre intention aussi que de prévenir, par cet éclaircissement, tout ce qui pouvoit troubler le repos de l'Europe, vous pouvez assurer le Roi d'Angleterre, que j'apporterai toujours les mêmes soins à le maintenir, et que tant que le Roi Catholique voudra concourir de sa part, et rejeter de semblables nouveautés si contraires à la trêve, la tranquillité publique ne pourra être altérée.

M. Barillon au Roy.

30 Avril, 1685.

J'AI reçu la dépêche de votre Majesté du 24 Avril par un courier exprès. J'allai aussitôt après trouver le Roi d'Angleterre pour l'informer de la réponse faite à M. de Feuquieres par sa Majesté Catholique. On ne sauroit témoigner plus de joye que ce Prince en fit paroître d'une nouvelle qui le tire d'une grande inquiétude, et lui met l'esprit en repos. Ce n'étoit pas sans fondement qu'il craignoit qu'une rupture entre V. M. et le Roi d'Espagne ne rendit le Parlement plus difficile qu'il ne le sera, quand tout paroitra calme au-dehors. Sa Majesté Britannique me chargea de remercier V. M. du soin qu'elle avoit eu de l'en avertir par un courier exprès, et me témoigna que sa joie se redouble toutes les fois qu'il reçoit des marques de l'amitié de V. M.

Les Ministres ont appris aussi avec beaucoup de plaisir le succès de la proposition de M. de Feuquieres. Milord Rochester est encore plus sensible que les autres à tout ce qui peut entretenir la paix au-dehors ; il m'a été aisé de faire voir que l'intention de V. M. étoit seulement de prévenir ce qui auroit pu altérer le repos dont l'Europe jouit, puisque la réponse qui

a été faite à Madrid, met ses affaires dans un état de calme et de tranquillité qui, selon les apparences, doit durer.

Le Roi d'Angleterre m'en a parlé encore ce matin, avec beaucoup de satisfaction, et se croit délivré d'un fort grand embarras, où il croyoit devoir être exposé, si le Parlement avoit été assemblé quand la guerre auroit commencé entre V. M. et l'Espagne. Il me paroît que votre Majesté tire quelque avantage de ce qui a été agité sur cette matière, en ce qu'on s'accoutume à entendre parler du droit de Monseigneur le Dauphin à la couronne d'Espagne, sans qu'il paroisse qu'on prenne une trop forte alarme de voir tant de royaumes dans la possibilité d'être réunis à la couronne de France. Il semble du moins que l'on reconnoisse que si sa Majesté Catholique mouroit sans enfans, le droit de Monseigneur le Dauphin, et de ses descendants, seroit beaucoup meilleur que de ceux qui n'y pourroient prétendre qu'en vertu d'une rénonciation remplie de nullités. Je n'ai parlé de tout cela que fort superficiellement comme d'une chose éloignée, mais je n'ai pas cru aussi devoir supprimer ce que V. M. alléguoit pour la principale raison de ce qu'elle avoit dessein de faire pour empêcher que l'Electeur de Bavière, et l'Archiduchesse fussent mis en possession des Pays Bas.

Il s'est passé une chose dans le dedans de la cour, qui n'est pas de peu de conséquence. Le Roi d'Angleterre ayant résolu d'aller à la chapelle, accompagné comme l'étoit le feu Roi, en parla la veille à Milord Rochester, Milord Sunderland, et Milord Godolfin. Il leur dit, qu'ayant fait la démarche d'aller ouvertement à la messe, il croyoit y devoir aller avec la dignité requise, et accompagné de ses gardes, et de ses principaux officiers ; qu'ils pourroient demeurer à la porte de la chapelle, et l'y attendre, ou y revenir après, dans le temps qu'il en devroit sortir. Milord Sunderland ne fit point de difficulté, ni Milord Godolfin, qui est accoutumé, comme Chambellan de la Reyne, de lui donner la main jusqu'à la porte ; mais Milord Rochester combattit avec véhémence la résolution que sa Majesté Britannique témoignoit avoir prise, et après avoir allégué inutilement les raisons dont il se put aviser, il déclara nettement qu'à moins que le Roi d'Angleterre lui commandât expressément de l'accompagner jusqu'à la porte de la chapelle, il ne le feroit pas. Sa Majesté Britannique lui dit, que son intention n'étoit pas de contraindre personne, ni de lui commander de faire une

chose à laquelle il paroissoit avoir tant de répugnance ; que son scrupule paroissoit mal-fondé, et que ce ne devoit pas être une excuse pour une chose qui seroit mal en soi de la faire commander ; qu'il étoit en liberté de le faire, ou de ne le faire pas. La contestation alla assez avant ; le Roi d'Angleterre ne se rendit pas, et ne voulut pas commander à Milord Rochester de l'accompagner ; Milord Rochester persista à ne le pas faire sans ordre, et prit l'expédient que lui proposa sa Majesté Britannique d'aller dès le même jour à une maison de campagne où il devoit aller le lendemain. Milord Sunderland et Milord Godolfin, comme habiles courtisans, pressèrent Milord Rochester d'avoir cette complaisance pour le Roi, et ne purent rien gagner sur son esprit. V. M. jugera par cet incident quelles oppositions le Roi d'Angleterre pourra trouver dans la suite à ce qu'il voudra entreprendre en faveur de la religion Catholique.

Ce détail est fort secret ; il est pourtant assez vraisemblable, que Milord Rochester s'en voudra faire honneur auprès des Protestans zélés, et croira s'autoriser parmi eux sans qu'il pense en cela hasarder sa faveur, ni son emploi. Il essayera de faire croire au Roi d'Angleterre, que ce qu'il en a fait est pour le service et pour le bien de ses affaires ; qu'il est périlleux de se trop déclarer, et trop tôt ; que quoiqu'il puisse arriver, il ne peut avoir d'autres intérêts que les siens ; mais il a affaire à un Prince fort ferme, et qui souffre très-impatiemment la moindre contradiction.

Il étoit hier ici le jour de Pâques ; les chevaliers de l'ordre accompagnèrent le Roi d'Angleterre avec leurs colliers jusqu'à la porte de la tribune où il entend la messe. Le Duc de Sommerset portoit l'épée ; il est demeuré à la porte, la coutume n'étant pas que celui qui porte cette épée entre dans l'église, si ce n'est lorsque le Roi communie. Les Ducs de Nordfolk, de Grafton, de Richemond, et de Northumberland, les Comtes d'Oxford, de Mulgraf, et plusieurs autres Seigneurs, accompagnèrent sa Majesté Britannique en allant et en revenant. On a remarqué que le Duc d'Ormond et le Marquis d'Halifax sont demeurés dans l'antichambre. Milord Rochester ne revint qu'hier au soir de la campagne. Cette résolution que le Roi d'Angleterre a prise d'aller à l'église avec ses officiers et ses gardes cause autant de bruit, et fait faire plus de réflexions, que l'on n'en a fait, lorsqu'il alla publiquement à la messe.

Les Ambassadeurs d'Hollande n'ont fait aucune plainte de ce qui leur est arrivé à Gravesend. M. d'Avaux m'a mandé que le Pensionnaire Fagel leur a fait ordonner par les commissaires aux affaires étrangères, de ne témoigner aucun ressentiment, et de dissimuler ce qui s'est passé. Ils n'ont eu qu'un Milord pour aller au-devant d'eux le jour de leur entrée ; ce fût Milord Tenay, Catholique, et gendre du feu Vicomte Montaigne : cela même a fait parler, et l'on a trouvé étrange que le Roi d'Angleterre ait affecté d'employer un Milord Catholique à la première entrée qui ait été faite depuis son règne, et de l'envoyer aux Ambassadeurs d'Hollande. Ils ont eu audience aujourd'hui de leurs Majestés Britanniques à Whitehall ; Milord Nort les y a conduit.

J'ai dit au Roi d'Angleterre ce que V. M. m'a permis touchant les sommes qui doivent passer ici incessamment. Je lui ai fait remarquer avec combien d'application V. M. va au-devant de ses besoins, et les preuves essentielles qu'elle lui donne de son amitié. Ce Prince m'a témoigné être fort sensible à ce que V. M. fait en sa faveur. J'espère bien empêcher que V. M. ne soit pressée de long temps d'envoyer de nouveaux fonds, pourvu que V. M. me permette de me servir de ceux qui seront ici. Je ne me suis point déclaré au Roi d'Angleterre, ni à ses Ministres, que V. M. m'ait donné la permission de ne fournir que jusqu'à quatre cens mille livres sur les deux millions dont on peut faire état : cette déclaration, si je la faisois, ôteroit tout le mérite de ce que V. M. fait présentement en faveur du Roi d'Angleterre, et donneroit occasion ici de croire que l'intention de V. M. est seulement de l'aider en cas qu'il soit exposé à une révolte. On ne s'attend pas que ce soit là le fondement du secours que V. M. veut bien accorder. Sa Majesté Britannique et ses Ministres ne font aucun doute que V. M. ne veuille bien payer ce qui restoit dû de l'ancien subside lorsque le feu Roi d'Angleterre est mort. La somme de cinq cens mille livres, que V. M. a envoyée incontinent après, sera suffisante pour en faire le parfait payement.

Ce que j'ai dit à Milord Rochester sur l'envoi de nouveaux fonds l'a empêché de me presser comme il auroit fait sans cela ; mais il ne révoque pas en doute que cette somme ne soit fournie quand il la demandera ; je supplie V. M. de m'en accorder la permission ; le refus que j'en ferois

causeroit, ce me semble, un préjudice notable au bien de ses affaires, qui seroit fort difficile à réparer dans la suite. Après l'ancien subsidé payé, il restera ici quinze cens mille livres ; je ferai mon possible pour ne point diminuer ce fonds, que lorsque j'en serai fort pressé ; mais j'ose encore représenter à V. M., que si j'en ai des défenses expresses, et que je ne puisse faire quelques paiements, il me sera impossible de soutenir l'opinion que le Roi d'Angleterre et ses Ministres ont que V. M. désire sincèrement ses avantages et l'établissement de son autorité.

Je n'ai pas expliqué assez clairement l'état des affaires de ce pays-ci quand j'ai donné lieu à V. M. de croire que l'argent qu'elle fournira sera employé à des gratifications aux membres du Parlement, pour en obtenir ce que le Roi d'Angleterre désire tant à l'égard des revenus, que du libre exercice de la religion Catholique ; ce n'est pas là le chemin que ce Prince prétend tenir, et rien n'est plus opposé à ce qu'il a dessein de faire. Il aura une conduite ferme et résolue ; l'introduction faite par le Comte de Danby d'acheter les voix du Parlement a si mal réussi, qu'on ne songe plus à s'en servir ; et, à dire la vérité, si on recommençoit à le mettre en pratique, on tomberoit dans les mêmes inconvéniens. Le Roi d'Angleterre veut que ses affaires se fassent par la nécessité où le parlement se trouvera de lui accorder ce qu'il est résolu de prendre, si on ne le lui accorde pas, c'est-à-dire, les revenus dont le feu Roi jouissoit ; et, selon toutes les apparences, le parlement les accordera. Mais cela ne met pas le Roi d'Angleterre en repos, et à son aise ; car il ne peut avec réputation et avec sûreté abandonner la protection des Catholiques ; cependant, il est fort apparent qu'il trouvera de grandes difficultés à établir une liberté d'exercice pour la religion Catholique.

Je sais déjà, que les cabales se forment entre les Seigneurs ; on croit qu'il seront plus difficiles que la Chambre des Communes sur l'article de la religion. Il est très-croyable que les revenus seront accordés pour ôter au Roi d'Angleterre le prétexte de dire qu'on lui refuse ce qui est nécessaire pour le soutien du gouvernement ; mais on voudra en même temps prendre de telles précautions pour la sûreté de la religion Protestante, que le Roi d'Angleterre ne les pourra admettre sans se trouver en un état fort périlleux et fort incertain. Les Protestants zélés disent déjà tout haut, que ce Prince

a manqué à ce qu'il a dit au conseil, et à ce qui est porté dans la déclaration qui a été publiée, ayant promis formellement de ne rien faire contre la religion Protestante, quoique, depuis, il ait donné un regiment en Irlande au Colonel Talbôt ; ce qui est, comme ils le disent, avancer le Papisme, et commencer à détruire la religion Protestante. V. M. peut donc tenir pour un fondement assuré, que le Roi d'Angleterre trouvera d'extrêmes difficultés à ce qu'il veut faire en faveur de la religion Catholique. On n'omettra aucuns soins pour l'en détourner, et pour affoiblir les résolutions qu'il aura prises. V. M. voit par ce qu'a fait Milord Rochester, ce qu'on doit attendre des autres en des choses de plus grande conséquence.

Le meilleur moyen, et le plus sur, pour fortifier ce Prince, et le maintenir dans le bon état où il est à l'égard de la religion Catholique, et des intérêts de V. M., est de se voir assuré d'une liaison étroite avec V. M. et dans une entière sûreté d'en être puissamment secouru. Je ne fais aucun doute qu'il ne s'engage aussi avant que V. M. le voudra dans la suite, et il croit déjà le faire en recevant des gratifications de V. M. Si je cessois toutes sortes de paiements, et que le Roi d'Angleterre et ses ministres prissent le parti de s'expliquer avec froideur sur cela, et de ne pas parler de secours comme d'une chose nécessaire, je ne douterois pas que ce Prince ne se crût en état et en liberté de prendre d'autres mesures. Je ne puis représenter trop fortement à V. M. combien il importe de ne donner au Roi d'Angleterre, et à ses Ministres, aucune occasion de croire que V. M. ne veut pas contribuer à sa grandeur et à son établissement. Je m'appliquerai à rendre un compte si exact de ce qui se passera ici, que V. M. verra le fonds de tous les intérêts, autant que je serai capable de les démêler. Cependant, il est, selon mon opinion, très-nécessaire que V. M. ne suspende pas les paiements, et qu'elle me permette de fournir au Roi d'Angleterre ce que je croirai devoir donner sur les quinze cens mille livres qui resteront après le parfait paiement de l'ancien subside ; j'ose répondre que cet argent aura un aussi bon effet qu'aucun que V. M. ait pu donner. C'est un coup décisif pour ce que V. M. a d'avantage à cœur, c'est-à-dire, pour l'établissement d'un exercice libre en faveur de la religion Catholique. Je supplie V. M. de se souvenir, que j'ai ménagé les paiements du subside passé, en sorte qu'une année entière a été écoulée sans qu'il en

ait été fait mention. Je ne puis avoir d'autres vues en tout cela que l'intérêt de V. M. qui pourroit, par un seul contretemps, ruiner en un jour la confiance qu'elle a établie ici depuis plusieurs années, d'une amitié sincère pour le feu Roi et pour celui d'à-présent. J'espère que V. M. me fera la justice d'être persuadé, que je n'abonde pas en mon sens, et que je sais aussi bien que personne obéir aveuglément à ses ordres; mais il est de mon devoir de représenter les choses comme elles sont, et de me soumettre toujours à ce qu'il plaira à V. M. de commander.

Je suis, avec le plus profond respect, &c.

BARILLON.

Le Roi à M. Barillon.

9 Mai, 1685.

MONSIEUR BARILLON, je suis bien aise de voir par votre lettre du 30 Avril, que le Roi d'Angleterre reconnoisse quelle a été la sincérité de mes intentions dans la déclaration que le Marquis de Feuquieres a faite par mes ordres au Roi Catholique, et que comme j'ai bien voulu me contenter de la réponse qui lui a été rendue de la part du Roi, elle ait fait cesser aussi toute inquiétude que cette affaire avoit donné à la cour où vous êtes. Je m'assure que comme cet éclaircissement n'aura pas été inutile à l'affermissement de la paix, il contribuera beaucoup aussi à faciliter au Roi d'Angleterre l'exécution de ses desseins, dans la prochaine assemblée du Parlement, et que par la seule disposition des affaires présentes de l'Europe, il obtiendra tout ce qu'il désire, sans avoir besoin à l'avenir d'aucune autre assistance que de celle qu'il tirera de son royaume.

Cependant, je vois par votre lettre, que vous êtes persuadé qu'il est de mon service non seulement d'achever aussitôt qu'il désirera le paiement des subsides que vous aviez promis de ma part au feu Roi, mais même de vous donner la permission de disposer des quinze cens mille livres restants lorsque vous le jugerez nécessaire, tant pour le fortifier dans la résolution d'établir à quelque prix que ce soit, le libre exercice de notre religion, que pour l'attacher inséparablement à mes intérêts, et l'empêcher de prendre d'autres mesures; mais, pour vous éclaircir encore plus particulièrement

de mes intentions, afin que vous ne puissiez point vous éloigner, je suis bien aise de vous répéter ; qu'il est vrai que le principal motif, ou, pour mieux dire, le seul et unique, qui m'oblige de vous faire remettre avec tant de diligence une somme aussi considérable qu'est celle de deux millions, pour en secourir le Roi d'Angleterre dans ses plus pressants besoins, c'est le zèle que j'ai pour l'augmentation de notre religion, secondé de mon estime et de mon affection pour le dit Roi ; il doit être aussi d'autant plus persuadé de cette vérité, que je ne stipule aucunes conditions de lui, et que l'intention que j'ai de maintenir la paix dans toute l'Europe ne me laisse pas lieu de croire, que j'y puisse trouver assez d'obstacles pour avoir besoin d'aucune assistance étrangère ; j'ai assez bonne opinion aussi de la fermeté du Roi d'Angleterre dans la profession qu'il fait de la religion Catholique, pour être bien persuadé qu'il emploiera toute son autorité à en établir le libre exercice, sans qu'il soit nécessaire de l'y exciter par une distribution d'argent prématurée, et qui ne doit pas être employé si le Parlement lui accorde le même revenu dont jouissoit le feu Roi d'Angleterre, et consent aussi à l'établissement du libre exercice de notre religion ; aussi mon intention est que vous continuiez les paiements de tout ce qui reste dû des subsides promis au feu Roi, qui monte, suivant le dernier compte que vous m'avez envoyé, à 470 mille livres, ensorte que de la remise qui vous a été faite par mes ordres le 15 Fevrier dernier de la somme de 500 mille livres il ne vous en restera, après les paiements faits, que celle de trente mille livres, lesquels joints à toutes les remises qui vous ont été, ou seront faites encore, feront la somme de quinze cens trente mille livres ; et je veux que vous gardiez ce fonds, pour n'en disposer qu'en cas que le Roi d'Angleterre ne pouvant pas obtenir de son Parlement la continuation des mêmes revenus qu'avoit le feu Roi son frère, ou rencontrant trop d'obstacles à l'établissement de la religion Catholique, se trouve obligé de le séparer, et d'employer son autorité et ses forces pour réduire ses sujets à la raison ; je consens, en ce cas, que vous l'assistiez pour lors de toute la somme de quinze cens trente mille livres, soit en un ou plusieurs paiements, ainsi que vous le jugerez à-propos, et que vous m'en donniez avis dans le même tems, par un courier exprès. Je m'assure que le Roi et ses ministres seront satisfaits des ordres que je vous donne,

au moins n'auront-ils pas raison de se plaindre, que je ne veuille assister qu'en cas de révolte, et ils verront, au contraire, que j'ai d'autant plus d'intérêt que le parlement se porte de lui-même à contenter le dit Roi, qu'il en aura la principale obligation à la bonne intelligence qui est entre moi et lui ; et comme il ne seroit pas juste, qu'il tournât à son profit, et mit dans son épargne, les secours que je lui destine par les seuls motifs que je viens de vous écrire, il pourra toujours s'assurer de recevoir les mêmes marques de mon affection en cas que la nécessité de ses affaires l'oblige d'y avoir recours.

Tachez cependant de bien pénétrer quelles seront les négociations qui se feront à la cour où vous êtes, entre les Ministres du Roi, et les Ambassadeurs d'Hollande pour un traité d'alliance avec les Etats Généraux ; et prenez garde, qu'en agissant d'aussi bonne foi que je fais avec la cour où vous êtes, elle ne prenne ailleurs des engagements préjudiciables à mes intérêts.

M. Barillon au Roi.

14 Mai, 1685.

JE reçus hier, par un courier exprès, la dépêche de votre Majesté du 9^e. Mai. J'aurai le soin que je dois, de ne rien faire au-delà de ce que V. M. me prescrit ; je me contenterai de représenter à V. M. le fait comme il est, et de suivre ensuite ses ordres avec la dernière exactitude.

M. d'Avaux m'a envoyé la copie des lettres des Ambassadeurs d'Hollande au Pensionnaire Faigel du 29 Avril : ces lettres portent que Milord Rochester leur a parlé d'une manière qui leur donne des espérances d'une plus étroite liaison entre sa Majesté Britannique et les Etats Généraux. Je crois savoir positivement que la conférence dont il est fait mention dans ces lettres n'a point été tenue ; et si on avoit dessein ici de jeter les fondements d'une plus étroite liaison entre sa Majesté Britannique et les Etats Généraux, ce ne seroit pas par une conférence des Ambassadeurs avec plusieurs ministres.

J'ai peine à croire aussi ce qui est porté par ces lettres, que Milord Preston ait été chargé de parler à V. M. sur le sujet de M. le Prince d'Orange. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'en auroit au moins dit quelque chose, s'il avoit envie

que ses offices eussent un bon succès ; mais il me parle souvent comme ayant une grande défiance et fort bien fondée de la conduite et des intentions de M. le Prince d'Orange à son égard. Votre Majesté sait bien en quelle manière Milord Preston lui a parlé sur ce sujet du Prince d'Orange. Si cet endroit de la lettre des Ambassadeurs est faux, le reste pourroit bien l'être aussi.

Votre Majesté aura vu par les lettres que je me suis donné l'honneur de lui écrire, que je crois le Roi d'Angleterre dans toutes les dispositions possibles de conserver une étroite liaison avec Votre Majesté, et que c'est sur ce fondement que roulent tous ses desseins. Cependant, il est certain que toute l'application des Protestans zélés, et des partisans de M. le Prince d'Orange, est de le détacher des intérêts de V. M. On ne lui proposera rien d'abord qui y soit directement opposé ; mais on voudra insensiblement le faire entrer en des mesures secrètes avec le Prince d'Orange seul, ou avec les Etats Généraux. Je ne pense pas qu'on en vienne à bout ; et je croirois plutôt que les Ambassadeurs d'Hollande se flattent, et prennent des discours généraux pour des paroles essentielles.

Les affaires du Parlement ne seront pas si faciles qu'on se l'étoit imaginé. Les esprits de ceux qui composent la Chambre des Communes paroissent disposés à accorder la jouissance des revenus. Mais il se fait tous les jours dans les cabales, de nouvelles propositions qui donneront de l'embarras à sa Majesté Britannique et à ses Ministres.

Il y a eu une chose agitée qui est de grande conséquence : l'opinion généralement répandue est, que Madame de Portsmouth et Milord Sunderland sont les principales causes de la liaison étroite qui a paru depuis quelques années entre V. M. et le feu Roy d'Angleterre. On les a vus, dans les derniers temps de son règne, avec tout le credit ; on a vu même Milord Rochester déchu de faveur, et prêt à partir pour l'Irlande ; cela fait que la principale haine du passé tombe sur Milord Sunderland et sur Madame de Portsmouth, qu'on sait avoir agi en tout de concert. On y enveloppe aussi Milord Godolfin. Les factieux prétendent avoir été abandonnés par eux, et leur imputent tous les malheurs dont ils ont été accablés. Sur ce fondement le dessein est de proposer, dès que le Parlement sera assemblé, de chasser de la Chambre des Communes tous ceux qui ont été, dans les

autres parlements, d'exclure M. le Duc d'York de la succession. C'est une proposition spécieuse, et qui paroît pleine de respect et de zèle pour le Roy d'Angleterre ; mais le dessein en cela est d'aigrir les esprits de toute la nation contre lui, et de faire connoître (s'il y consent) qu'il n'oublie point ce qui a été fait contre ses intérêts, et qu'il a toujours envie de s'en venger. C'est aussi un degré pour attaquer ceux de la Chambre Haute, qui ont été d'avis de son exclusion, et principalement Milord Sunderland et Milord Godolfin, qui ont traité de la part du feu Roy avec les factieux, et qui les ont portés, en ce temps là, à insister sur une chose à laquelle ils les assuroient que le Prince consentiroit à la fin, si on faisoit sa condition bonne.

Il est fort apparent que ce projet est soutenu par des gens qui ne sont pas tout-à-fait hors des affaires. Milord Halifax a toujours une haine fort vive contre Milord Sunderland, et anime sous main ceux qu'il avoit disposés à lui nuire.

Milord Sunderland a déjà parlé au Roy d'Angleterre pour prévenir le piège qu'on lui voudroit tendre sous prétexte de chasser ceux qu'on appelle *les Exclusionnaires* ; mais si le moyen manque, on en tentera d'autres ; et je crois savoir que Milord Sunderland sera fortement attaqué, tant par la haine qui reste de lui de son ministère passé, que parce qu'on prévoit qu'il aura beaucoup de part à la confiance de son maître à l'avenir, si sa liaison subsiste avec V. M., et s'il persiste dans le dessein d'établir la religion Catholique.

Je crois que Milord Rochester sera épargné au commencement par le Parlement. On le croit bon Protestant, et il est regardé comme protecteur du parti épiscopal : on le voit à la tête des affaires, et les finances entre les mains ; il est, outre cela, beau-frère du Roy : on croiroit en l'attaquant, fournir à sa Majesté Britannique un prétexte de casser le Parlement. Mais on s'imagine pouvoir attaquer les autres ministres impunément, et que peut-être Milord Rochester ne sera pas fâché de ce qui se passera contre ceux qui avoient prévalu sur lui dans les derniers temps, et qui l'avoient réduit à se retirer en Irlande.

Les Catholiques sont ouvertement pour Milord Sunderland : cela rendra encore les esprits de la Chambre Basse plus aisés à exciter contre lui ; cependant il a fort bien servi le Roy d'Angleterre avant qu'il parvint à la couronne,

et il a travaillé si utilement à le faire venir d'Ecosse, et à le rétablir dans le conseil, et dans l'amirauté, que je ne crois pas que ce Prince l'abandonne, ni qu'il souffre que le Parlement commence par faire une chose aussi préjudiciable à l'autorité royale, que le seroit celle d'attaquer les ministres.

Madame de Portsmouth croit aussi devoir être attaquée ; cela l'oblige à presser son départ avant que le Parlement s'assemble. De la façon dont le Roy d'Angleterre m'a parlé sur son sujet, j'ai lieu de croire qu'elle sera contente de ce qu'il a résolu sur ses affaires.

V. M. peut juger par ce que j'ai l'honneur de lui mander, que les affaires ne seront pas si paisibles dans le Parlement qu'on se l'imagine. Il est vrai que les anciens factieux ne sont pas choisis ; mais ceux qui composent le Parlement le deviendront aisément : ils ont presque tous une aversion insurmontable contre la religion Catholique, et la plupart sont ennemis de la France, et jaloux de la grandeur de V. M. Ils connoissent bien que du succès de cette séance dépend l'établissement des affaires de sa Majesté Britannique ; c'est pourquoi on n'omettra rien pour lui susciter des embarras.

Il y a des avis que les Anglois réfugiés à Amsterdam veulent envoyer des armes en Ecosse, et ont pris des mesures sur cela ; c'est l'endroit où il peut plus aisément arriver des désordres, aussi bien que dans le Nord de l'Irlande, qui joint presque à l'Ecosse. Le Roy d'Angleterre ne me paroît point inquiet de l'avenir, et croit venir à bout de tout aisément.

Les Ambassadeurs d'Hollande ont eu leur audience du Prince et de la Princesse de Dannemark. Ils m'ont rendu la première visite après la Maison royale. Selon ce qui m'est rapporté par quelques uns de leurs confidants, ils ne sont pas si contents qu'ils le témoignent par leurs lettres. Je ne laisserai pas de redoubler mes soins pour pénétrer ce qui se passera sur ce sujet.

Il vint hier de fort bonnes nouvelles d'Ecosse. Il a été question dans le Parlement, d'accorder à sa Majesté Britannique pour sa vie, les droits de l'excise et des coutumes qui avoient été concédés aussi au feu Roy pour sa vie. Non seulement cela a été fait, mais le Parlement a annexé ces mêmes droits à la couronne pour toujours. C'est le Duc d'Hamilton qui en a fait la proposition aux Seigneurs, et qui l'a fait réussir par son crédit dans le Parlement.

On a arrêté ici un écuyer de M. le Duc de Monmouth ; le Roy d'Angleterre m'a dit qu'il ne s'étoit trouvé chargé de rien, et qu'il ne s'étoit pas caché, qu'ainsi on l'avoit élargi, en donnant caution de se représenter.

Le Duc de Nordfolk a l'ordre de la jarretiere ; c'est la place qui a vaqué par la mort du seû Roy d'Angleterre. Milord Churchill sera Milord d'Angleterre : il l'étoit seulement d'Ecosse. M. Germain sera aussi fait Milord, et le Colonel Talbot sera Comte d'Irlande dès qu'il y sera arrivé. Tout cela sera fait avant l'assemblée du Parlement.

Je suis avec le profond respect que je dois, &c.

M. de Barillon au Roy.

17 May, 1685, à Londres.

JE vois par la dernière dépêche de V. M. que sa résolution est de secourir le Roy d'Angleterre dans ses besoins ; c'est dans cette vuë que V. M. envoie ici des sommes considérables. Cependant il me paroît que V. M. n'est pas sans soupçon que le Roy d'Angleterre ne puisse prendre des mesures opposées à ses intérêts, et former des liaisons avec les Etats Généraux et avec le Prince d'Orange. Ma principale application doit être à tâcher de le pénétrer, et je n'omettrai rien de ce qui peut m'éclaircir de ce qui se passe de plus secret ici. Le commerce intime que j'ai avec le Roy d'Angleterre et avec ses ministres me met en tel état, que ce sera ma faute si je suis trompé.

V. M. peut tenir pour assuré que le Roy d'Angleterre n'a point un plan de liaison avec les Etats Généraux, et encore moins avec le Prince d'Orange. Je ne prends pas cette confiance mal-à-propos, mais sur beaucoup de choses qu'il me seroit difficile d'expliquer à V. M. aussi clairement que je les vois. Il faut convenir, cependant, que le Roy d'Angleterre dissimule ; et il lui est important de le faire jusques après la séance du Parlement ; mais je suis convaincu qu'il lèvera le masque aussitôt après, et qu'il ne se contraindra pas, comme il l'a fait jusqu'à présent, à cacher sa pente pour les intérêts de V. M., et le dessein qu'il a d'établir l'exercice libre de la religion Catholique. Je suis persuadé qu'il trouvera beaucoup de difficultés dans l'exé-

cution de ce dessein : il n'y a aucune apparence que le Parlement y consente : je doute même que sa Majesté Britannique l'ôse proposer. * Cela dépendra des premières résolutions qui se prendront sur les revenus. Mais par avance je sais que la défiance est fort grande dans les esprits de part et d'autre, et que si le Parlement apporte de la facilité à la concession des revenus, il ne se relâchera point sur ce qui regarde la religion Catholique. C'est ce qui m'a fait insister jusques à-présent auprès de V. M. pour la supplier de ne point ordonner de suspendre les payements auxquels on s'attend ici. Je trouverois même beaucoup d'inconvénient à déclarer au Roy d'Angleterre et à ses ministres, qu'après l'ancien subside payé V. M. ne lui fournira plus rien, à moins qu'il ne se trouve obligé de forcer ses sujets à se conformer à ce qu'il désire, tant à l'égard de ses revenus que du libre exercice de la religion Catholique.

Je vois que V. M. regarde comme un inconvénient que le Roy d'Angleterre puisse mettre dans son épargne, et augmenter ses fonds d'une somme considérable que V. M. fourniroit dans le temps, qui le mettra en état de subsister commodément ; et que son autorité étant établie au-dedans, et ayant obtenu ce qu'il souhaite à l'égard de la religion Catholique, il sera en état de prendre parti sur les alliances qu'il peut faire au-dehors. Si cela étoit ainsi, je croirois que V. M. auroit intérêt de prévenir ce Prince par une gratification, et l'engager insensiblement dans vos intérêts par une somme bien moins considérable que ne seroit celle que V. M. donneroit, si une fois il avoit pris la résolution de se joindre à ceux qui sont jaloux de votre grandeur. Mais les affaires de ce pays-ci sont fort éloignées d'un état si tranquille. V. M. verra que dans la suite le Roy d'Angleterre trouvera des oppositions beaucoup plus grandes qu'on ne le croit. Il y a déjà des mouvements parmi les Montagnards d'Ecosse ; le Nord de l'Irlande n'est pas tranquille ; les factieux n'ont pas perdu toute espérance, et votre Majesté sait que l'on a pris des mesures en Hollande pour leur envoyer des armes et des munitions.

Si dans le temps que tout est en mouvement, et que l'on fera les plus grands efforts pour détacher le Roy d'Angleterre de l'amitié de votre Majesté, je lui déclarerois, et à ses Ministres, que V. M. ne veut plus le secourir, je fournirois un prétexte fort plausible à ceux qui lui veulent

faire prendre un chemin opposé à celui qu'il a résolu de tenir. Je doute encore qu'ils en vinssent a bout ; mais c'est un péril auquel il n'est pas, ce me semble, nécessaire d'exposer les affaires de ce pays-ci, qui peuvent (si je ne me trompe,) être conduites avec une entière sûreté, sans que V. M. hazarde beaucoup. Je vois ce qui se passe ; il sera mal-aisé de me le cacher ; ainsi je ne donnerai pas mal-à-propos ce que j'aurai pouvoir de donner. J'ose encore supplier V. M. de me permettre (après l'ancien subside payé) de fournir au Roy d'Angleterre, pendant l'assemblée du Parlement, jusques à la somme de *deux cent mille écus* sur celle de *quinze cent trente mille* livres qui me restera entre les mains, après que votre Majesté y aura envoyé toute la somme qu'elle a résolu. Je ménagerai cette somme de deux cents mille écus en telle sorte que V. M. connoitra par la suite qu'elle lui aura été utile.

V. M. me permet par sa dernière dépêche, de donner toute la somme que je pourrai avoir entre les mains, si je vois le Parlement cassé, et que le Roy d'Angleterre soit réduit à contraindre ses sujets par la force à se soumettre. Il n'est pas apparent que les affaires viennent tout d'un coup à une rupture ouverte, et j'aurai toujours assez de temps pour informer V. M. et recevoir ses ordres, pourvu que je puisse cependant fournir quelque somme. Enfin, Sire, les affaires sont ici, selon ce que j'en puis juger, en fort bon état à l'égard de V. M. ; mais je n'en répondrais pas, si V. M. m'ôtoit la liberté de faire aucune sorte de payement, après l'ancien subside payé. Il me suffit d'avoir connu ses intentions pour n'aller pas trop loin, quand j'en aurai la permission. Le Roi d'Angleterre se croit en quelque façon juge lui-même de ses besoins ; si V. M. veut l'obliger entièrement, et lui témoigner une véritable amitié, elle s'en rapportera à lui. Si je jetois dans son esprit une défiance quoique mal-fondée, j'aurois de la peine à le faire revenir, au lieu que présentement j'ai établi une confiance que rien ne détruira pourvu que V. M. me permette de faire ce que je croirai entièrement nécessaire pour son service. Je ne serois pas assez imprudent pour presser V. M. de faire une chose à laquelle il me paroît qu'elle a de la répugnance, si je n'en connoissois l'importance et (l'utilité) la nécessité. Je ne voudrois pas non plus perdre auprès de V. M. le peu de service que je puis lui avoir rendu en ce pays-ci, en lui conseillant de

faire une chose qui pourroit dans la suite être nuisible, ou du moins inutile à ses intérêts. Mais je manquerois à mon devoir, et à la fidélité que je dois à V. M., si je ne lui représentois, comme je fais, qu'il est absolument nécessaire de me laisser la liberté de donner des marques de votre amitié au Roy d'Angleterre, dans le temps que l'on prendra le plus de soin de l'ébranler.

La conjoncture présente est décisive : il est question que le Roy d'Angleterre prenne un parti qu'il soutiendra longtemps. Je crois voir que ce parti est pris dans son esprit, et qu'il est déterminé à se tenir étroitement uni avec V. M. ; il est seulement nécessaire de le maintenir dans cette résolution, et de l'empêcher de donner dans les pièges qui lui seront tendus.

Les lettres que je reçus avant hier de M. d'Avaux me confirment dans l'opinion que les lettres des Ambassadeurs d'Hollande au Pensionnaire Fagel, dont on a eu des copies, sont fausses et supposées. Il y a beaucoup d'apparence que c'est un artifice inventé pour faire croire en Hollande et ailleurs que le Roi d'Angleterre est entièrement disposé à former une nouvelle et plus étroite liaison avec les Etats Généraux, et qu'il y a déjà une parfaite intelligence rétablie entre sa Majesté Britannique et le Prince d'Orange. Je suis persuadé que l'un ni l'autre n'est véritable. La jalousie du Roy d'Angleterre contre M. le Prince d'Orange est trop bien fondée, et trop naturelle, pour être aisément détruite : je ne vois pas non plus qu'il y ait apparence que les intérêts de l'Angleterre et des Etats Généraux se puissent aisément concilier sur le point du commerce, puisqu'au contraire c'est un fondement de division dans l'intérêt le plus solide des deux nations.

L'affaire seule de Bantam peut empêcher encore longtemps qu'il n'y ait une liaison entre sa Majesté Britannique et les Etats Généraux : leurs députés, et ceux de la Compagnie des Indes d'Amsterdam sont arrivés. On va entrer en conférence avec eux. Cependant, je vois encore bien des gens persuadés, que cette affaire ne s'accommodera pas. J'ai su par un des principaux intéressés dans la Compagnie des Indes que le Roi d'Angleterre est fort résolu de soutenir leur commerce, et de traverser celui des Hollandois. Cette même personne m'a dit que sa Majesté Britannique a envoyé depuis peu un homme exprès, chargé d'une lettre au Roy de Perse,

pour l'exhorter à ne se point accorder avec les Hollandois au préjudice des autres nations, et lui offrir même du secours, en cas que la guerre que les Hollandois lui font continue.

Je suis avec le profond respect que je dois, &c.

M. de Barillon au Roi.

21 Mai, 1685, à Londres.

On reçut hier ici des lettres de la Haye, qui portent que trois vaisseaux chargés d'armes et de munitions de guerre avoient fait voile ou pour l'Ecosse, ou pour le Nord d'Irlande. Le Roi d'Angleterre m'en a parlé, et m'a dit qu'il voyoit bien le peu de soin que M. le Prince d'Orange avoit pris de mettre ordre à une chose si importante, et que s'il avoit pris les mesures nécessaires pour cela, il en auroit été averti le premier, auroit arrêté les vaisseaux, et lui en auroit donné avis ; qu'au lieu de cela, on avoit différé plusieurs jours à la Haye de rien faire sur les remontrances du Sieur Skelton, et qu'on l'avoit obligé de donner un mémoire ; que cependant il auroit été facile d'arrêter les vaisseaux, si on en avoit eu l'intention ; que cette lenteur marque peu d'application et de chaleur de la part des Etats Généraux et de M. le Prince d'Orange, et ne répond pas aux belles paroles qu'on lui dit tous les jours de leur part ; que son dessein n'étoit point d'en faire des plaintes dans les formes, mais qu'il connoissoit bien qui sont ceux qui sont véritablement dans ses intérêts, et dont il attend des marques d'amitié sincères ; que cependant, il n'est point embarrassé ni inquiet de ce qui arrivera de ces vaisseaux ; qu'il a donné des ordres nécessaires pour prévenir les mouvements que les factieux pourroient exciter en Ecosse ou en Irlande ; qu'il a envoyé des frégates sur les côtes, et que dans le fonds il croit n'avoir rien à craindre, étant assuré de l'amitié de votre Majesté.

Je répondis à sa Majesté Britannique tout ce que je crus devois augmenter son soupçon de la conduite de M. le Prince d'Orange, et l'assurer de l'amitié de V. M. Il convint de ce que je lui dis, et me fit entendre qu'il ne croyoit pas encore devoir se déclarer sur cela ouvertement, mais qu'il

espéroit n'être pas encore longtemps obligé de dissimuler ; que c'étoit un personnage qu'il soutenoit mal, et auquel il n'étoit point propre. J'ai su depuis cela, qu'il avoit parlé avec beaucoup de ressentiment de ce qu'on n'avoit pas prévenu en Hollande ce que les exilés d'Angleterre pouvoient ménager pour l'exécution de leurs (manœuvres) mauvais desseins. Il a même dit tout haut au Conseil, que si ceux qui y étoit obligés, avoient fait leur devoir du temps du feu Roy et du sien, à l'égard des factieux retirés en Hollande, on ne seroit pas en peine présentement de délibérer des moyens de s'opposer aux efforts qu'ils font pour exciter des troubles. Cela ne se peut entendre que de M. le Prince d'Orange.

Les Ambassadeurs d'Hollande paroissent embarrassés de cette nouvelle. Ils disent que l'on a fait toutes les diligences possibles pour arrêter les vaisseaux, dès que Mrs. les Etats ont été avertis par M. Skelton, mais que leur gouvernement est assujéti à des formes par-dessus les quelles on ne peut passer.

Le Roy d'Angleterre parla tout haut, il y deux jours, à M. Ziters sur l'affaire de Bantam d'une manière assez forte, et lui fit entendre que toutes les nations de l'Europe, et principalement les Anglois, avoient un grand intérêt que les Hollandois ne fussent pas maîtres tout seuls du commerce du poivre, et des autres épiceries. M. Ziters dit que ce commerce leur coûtoit si cher, qu'on ne devoit pas le leur envier ; que même ils avoient offert aux marchands Anglois qui sont dans les Indes, de partager avec eux la moitié des épiceries qu'ils apporteroient en Europe.

Le Roy d'Angleterre répondit qu'il n'étoit pas juste que ce fut eux qui en fissent la distribution et la part aux autres ; que le commerce devoit être libre, et qu'en étant les maîtres, ils mettroient le prix qu'ils voudroient aux marchandises. Le Roy d'Angleterre ajouta, en se tournant vers moi ; “ On sait bien en France ce qui en est, et aussi en Dannemark, car on fait la même chose à leur égard.”

Ce discours fait en public a redoublé l'inquiétude des Ambassadeurs d'Hollande sur l'affaire de Bantam ; mais je ne pense pas qu'il y ait beaucoup de reflexion à faire sur ce qui se dit publiquement. C'est plutôt, à ce que j'en puis juger, dans le dessein de porter les Commissaires à faire des offres qui puissent contenter la Compagnie de Londres.

Sa Majesté Britannique croit que le Comte d'Argile est dans les montagnes d'Ecosse. Elle m'a dit qu'elle y fera marcher des troupes réglées, et que cependant les ordres étoient envoyés pour donner pouvoir aux familles ennemies du Comte d'Argile et des Cambels de s'armer et de leur courir sus. Milord Dombarton part aujourd'hui pour commander les troupes en Ecosse, et les conduire où l'on verra que les factieux voudront faire leurs premiers efforts.

Le Colonel Talbot part aussi pour l'Irlande: on a changé quantité d'officiers dans les troupes qui y sont: on y doit encore faire des changements qui y sont nécessaires. On attend ici avec impatience de savoir où les trois vaisseaux chargés d'armes et de munitions seront abordés: ils sont sortis du Texel il y a dix jours. Le Roy d'Angleterre n'a dit qu'il y avoit des hommes dessus, et quelques officiers de ceux qui ont été cassés en Hollande. On ne sait point avec certitude si M. le Duc de Devonmouth est sur un de ces vaisseaux: il a été depuis peu à Rotterdam. On ne doute pas que cette entreprise d'envoyer des vaisseaux ne soit fondée sur un concert secret avec les factieux du pays où ils doivent aborder, et qu'il n'y ait des mesures prises pour prendre les armes aussitôt après. Le péril est que leurs troupes ne grossissent, et que les mécontents, qui sont en grand nombre dans le Nord de l'Irlande, ne s'assemblent, et ne forment un corps assez considérable pour tenir la campagne, et résister aux troupes réglées qu'on enverra contre eux, à qui même il n'est pas sûr qu'on se puisse fier entièrement. Tout cela fait beaucoup parler à Londres, et arrive dans le temps que le Parlement va s'assembler. Le moindre inconvénient qui en peut résulter est de rendre le Parlement plus difficile qu'il n'auroit été si tout avoit été calme.

Il a été publié ici un écrit, sous le nom du Duc de Buckingham, en faveur de la liberté de conscience pour tous les Nonconformistes. Le Roy d'Angleterre n'a pu s'empêcher de louer d'abord cet écrit; il n'en a parlé depuis que comme d'une chose qui ne mérite aucune réflexion. Mais les Episcopaux n'ont pas laissé d'en être alarmés, et de trouver fort à redire à cet écrit. J'en envoie une traduction dont V. M. pourra se faire rendre compte: c'est la matière la plus importante qui puisse être agitée à l'égard du dedans de l'Angleterre.*

Le parti des évêques étoit regardé, du temps du feu Roy d'Angleterre, comme le soutien de la Royauté, et les Presbitériens, aussi bien que les autres sectaires, maintenoient la religion Protestante, et s'opposoient fortement à ce qui s'appelle l'accroissement du Papisme. Mais l'état des affaires de la religion est bien changé en Angleterre, depuis que le Roy fait une profession ouverte de la religion Catholique. Tous les Nonconformistes se trouvent dans le même état que les Catholiques : les loix sont également établies contre les uns et les autres : il n'y a plus que l'Eglise Anglicane qui soit la religion de l'état, et qui puisse s'opposer à toutes les autres sectes ; c'est ce qui la fait regarder comme l'unique soutien de la religion Protestante en général, n'y ayant point d'autre moyen de s'opposer à l'aggrandissement de la religion dont le Roy fait profession, qu'en se tenant exactement dans l'exécution des loix pénales. On voit bien cependant qu'il est impraticable de poursuivre et de punir ceux qui ont la même religion que le Roy regnant ; et il semble même que les loix faites contre les Catholiques tombent d'elles-mêmes, et soient, en quelque sorte, anéanties, quand celui au nom duquel on les poursuit, et au profit de qui les condamnations et les amendes sont appliquées, est lui-même de la religion pour laquelle on prétend les devoir punir.

Il y a un autre grand embarras présentement dans tous les serments qui se prêtent par tous les Protestants. Ils jurent de ne reconnoître autre chef de l'Eglise Anglicane que le Roy d'Angleterre ; cependant, il est de notoriété que lui-même reconnoît un autre chef de l'église, et ne croit point l'être. Cela forme des contradictions difficiles à concilier : le moindre relâchement des loix pénales sera regardé par les Protestans zélés comme un chemin à établir entièrement la religion Catholique. La raison essentielle de cela est que la religion Catholique étoit la religion de l'état, et établie par les loix sous le règne de la Reine Marie. Les loix faites sous le règne de la Reine Elizabeth contre les Catholiques ont établi la religion Anglicane. Si on abolit ces loix, ou qu'on les suspende, l'ancienne religion redevient la religion de l'état, et reprend ses premiers droits, et sa première force, qui l'autorise même à poursuivre les autres sectes, comme on a fait du temps de la Reine Marie. Tout cela fera la matière des délibérations du Parlement, à moins que l'affaire des revenus ne soit d'abord

achevée, et que le Roy d'Angleterre ne se résolve à casser ou à proroger le Parlement aussitôt après, et à prendre de lui-même les résolutions qu'il croira convenables.

Le procès a été fait au Sieur Oates, dont les dépositions ont servi de fondement à la prétendue conspiration des Catholiques : il a été trouvé coupable de parjure, et on a prouvé qu'il étoit à St. Omer lorsqu'il a déposé avoir été présent à une assemblée de Jesuites à Londres. Il s'est défendu avec beaucoup d'audace et d'impudence ; il a dit que trois Parlements avoient approuvé ses dépositions, et l'avoient cru ; que présentement il souffre pour la religion Protestante. Quand il sortit de Westminster, Milord Louvelez, qui est signalé entre les factieux, l'embrassa, et lui fit un compliment sur sa fermeté. La peine établie par les loix contre le parjure est d'être mis au pilori, et d'avoir le bout de l'oreille coupé : le jugement sera exécuté, et ensuite Oates sera remis en prison, où il sera retenu longtemps, étant condamné à de grandes sommes pour des discours scandaleux tenus contre M. le Duc d'York. On ne peut par les loix l'inquiéter ni le poursuivre pour les faussetés inventées par lui contre la Reine Douairière d'Angleterre, et les Pairs Catholiques, n'y ayant point de peines établies contre la calomnie. Quelques uns croient qu'on auroit mieux fait de ne point achever présentement le procès d'Oates, et qu'il auroit été aussi à-propos de ne le pas poursuivre, puisque la condamnation ne va qu'au pilori, qui n'est pas une peine proportionnée à ses crimes.

Je suis, avec le profond respect que je dois, &c.

Le Roi à M. Barillon.

25 May, 1685, à Versailles.

MONSIEUR BARILLON, j'ai reçu votre lettre du 24 May, par la voie ordinaire, et celle du 21 May par le retour du courier que je vous avois dépêché. Je ne doute pas que vous ne vous serviez utilement de la fausseté qui paroît dans les prétendues lettres des Ambassadeurs d'Hollande au Pensiennaire Fagel pour faire connoître au Roy d'Angle-

terre et à ses Ministres, que le Prince d'Orange ne recherche que l'apparence d'une bonne intelligence avec le dit Roy, pour augmenter par là son crédit dans les Provinces Unies, mais qu'au fonds il veut toujours entretenir une secrete correspondance avec les mécontents d'Angleterre, et rien n'en peut mieux persuader la Cour où vous êtes, que la connivence du dit Prince à l'armement qui a été fait en Hollande de trois vaisseaux pour porter les chefs des dit mécontents, et autant d'armes et de munitions de guerre qu'ils en peuvent avoir besoin pour exciter des séditions et armer les rebelles, soit en Angleterre, en Ecosse, ou en Irlande. Ainsi vous avez raison de ne pas croire que l'Envoyé d'Angleterre soit chargé de la part du Roy son maître de me parler en faveur du Prince d'Orange ; et il a seulement dit à Croissy que le dit Roy s'étoit expliqué qu'il ne pouvoit pas avoir d'étroite liaison avec ce Prince, tant qu'il ne seroit pas bien avec moi.

Je suis, cependant, bien aise d'apprendre que le Roy d'Angleterre n'ait aucun sujet d'appréhender le passage du Duc de Monmouth, du Comte d'Argile, et du Sieur Gray, ni tous les efforts que tous les mécontents pouvoient faire pendant l'assemblée du Parlement ; et je m'assure néanmoins qu'il prendra toutes les précautions nécessaires, pour se garantir de leurs mauvais desseins.

Je ne vois pas aussi qu'il entre dans la proposition qu'on lui veut faire de chasser du Parlement tous ceux qui ont été d'avis, dans les assemblées précédentes, de l'exclure de la succession ; et comme le nombre en est grand, et que l'intérêt qu'ils auront à effacer cette tache par des services considérables, les portera, selon toutes les apparences, à le servir plus utilement que ne pourroient faire ceux qui ont toujours été les plus attachés à sa personne ; il est de sa prudence et d'une juste et éclairée politique de faire connoître qu'il n'a aucun ressentiment de ce qui s'est fait contre lui avant qu'il soit parvenu à la couronne, et de réserver seulement à faire dans la suite du temps, la distinction de ceux qui le serviront bien d'avec ceux qui feront voir par leur conduite qu'ils n'ont agi que par un pur esprit de cabale.

Votre dernière me fait voir qu'il y a plus de disposition qu'on n'en croyoit à quelques mouvements tant en Ecosse qu'en Irlande, et sur ce fondement

vous insistez à ce que je vous permette d'employer, outre les 470 mille livres qui restent à payer du subside promis au feu Roy, au moins 600 mille livres sur les 1530 mille livres que vous avez entre les mains, après qu'on vous aura remis tous les fonds que j'ai destinés pour assister le Roy d'Angleterre. Mais comme l'ordre que je vous ai donné par ma dépêche du 9^e me paroît suffisant pour la satisfaction de ce Prince, je ne juge pas à-propos d'y rien changer, d'autant plus que faisant remettre incessamment à Londres toute la somme que je vous permets de donner, en cas de besoin, le Roy peut bien juger que je ne refuserai pas les assistances nécessaires; car vous me pouvez avertir journellement de ce qui se passera: je vous donnerai aussi mes ordres avec la même diligence, suivant les différens évènements.

Extrait d'une Lettre du Roy à M. Barillon.

à Versailles, 1 Juin, 1685.

M. BARILLON vos lettres des 21 et 24 May me font voir qu'encore que le Roy d'Angleterre ne témoigne aucune inquiétude des préparatifs que font les proscrits d'Angleterre, tant pour y retourner que pour y exciter quelque mouvement, soit vers l'Ecosse ou vers le Nord d'Irlande; néanmoins la Cour où vous êtes, et les principaux marchands de la ville de Londres appréhendent que les entreprises de ces factieux n'aient quelques suites qui troublent le commerce et le repos dont les Anglois jouissent à-présent, je suis bien aise d'apprendre que le dit Roy ait donné de bons ordres pour prévenir les desseins des Rébelles, et qu'il mette sa principale confiance dans mon amitié.

Il peut aussi s'en promettre la continuation, tant qu'il demeurera dans les mêmes engagements que le feu Roy son frère et lui-même avoient pris avec moi; et comme les discours que le public lui fait tenir sur-tout ce qui regarde les intérêts de ma couronne ne conviennent pas à ce que je dois attendre de lui, vous devez observer bien soigneusement quels sont ses véritables sentimens, et m'informer de tout ce que vous apprendrez qu'il aura dit sur ce sujet, soit dans ses discours particuliers, soit dans les discours qu'il aura

tenus aux Ambassadeurs et ministres étrangers; ensorte qu'après avoir donné des marques de mon zèle pour le rétablissement de la religion Catholique en Angleterre, et de mon amitié pour ce Prince par les secours que je vous fais incessamment remettre, je ne contribue pas d'avantage, s'il a de mauvais desseins, à le mettre en état de s'opposer à tout ce qui peut être de ma satisfaction; et vous ne sauriez me rendre un compte trop exact de la manière qu'il vous traite, de tout ce qu'il vous dit sur les affaires présentes, et de ce que vous pouvez pénétrer de ses intentions, tant sur les alliances qu'il prétend faire à l'avenir, que sur les mesures qu'il veut prendre avec ses voisins.

Vous pouvez cependant l'assurer, qu'il n'y a aucun fondement à l'avis qu'on lui a donné, que le Marquis de Boufflers avoit ordre d'entrer dans la Navarre Espagnole; que pour ce qui regarde l'escadre de mes vaisseaux que j'ai envoyée sous le commandement du Sieur de Treuilly vers Cadiz, il n'a ordre que de faciliter le commerce de mes sujets, et le retour des effets qu'ils ont sur la flotte des Indes. Vous savez aussi que le Maréchal d'Estrées doit seulement faire la guerre avec les vaisseaux qu'il commande aux Corsaires de Tripoli; ainsi il n'y a rien de nouveau dans ces commandements dont vous n'avez déjà été averti.

Vous jugez bien que tout ce qui se passera dorénavant en Angleterre mérite une grande attention, et je ne doute point que vous ne donniez tous vos soins à en être bien averti, et à me rendre un compte exact de ce que vous apprendrez.

Extrait d'une Lettre de M. Barillon au Roi.

, 28 May, 1685, à Londres.

M. D'AVAUZ aura envoyé à V. M. la copie d'une lettre des Ambassadeurs d'Hollande, sur laquelle il me paroît faire beaucoup de reflexion. Je ne doute pas qu'il n'y ait des ministres qui parlent à ces Ambassadeurs dans le sens qu'il mandent, et qui ne se flattent d'espérances sur l'avenir mais je n'ai aucun lieu de croire que ces espérances soient bien fondées. Je persiste à ce que j'ai eu l'honneur de mander à votre Majesté sur cela

Le Roy d'Angleterre me paroît tous les jours connoître d'avantage combien l'amitié de V. M. lui est nécessaire. Tous les efforts que l'on fera pour l'ébranler seront inutiles, si V. M. fait de son côté tout ce qui est nécessaire pour le maintenir dans les sentiments où il est. Je ne serois pas assez imprudent pour en assurer V. M. si je ne croyois en avoir des preuves convaincantes.

Extrait d'une Lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

2 Juin, 1685, à Londres.

LE chagrin et l'inquiétude que cette nouvelle peut donner au Roy d'Angleterre ont été fort diminués par ce qui se passa hier au Parlement : la Chambre des Communes a accordé à sa Majesté Britannique, pour sa vie, les mêmes revenus dont le feu Roy son frère jouissoit : la résolution en a été prise d'un comun consentement ; M. Seymer seul s'y opposa, et harangua inutilement contre la forme des élections, et sur le péril où l'on est de voir introduire la religion Catholique, et un gouvernement contre les loix. Son discours ne fut suivi ni applaudi de personne.

La Chambre Haute délibéra, en même temps, sur l'affaire des Seigneurs accusés de haute trahison, et cassa un règlement de la même Chambre qui ordonne que les accusations intentées par la Chambre Basse subsisteront d'un parlement à l'autre. Cela s'étoit fait pour perpétuer l'accusation contre le Comte de Danby et les Pairs Catholiques, qui par ce moyen demeureront toujours en état d'être condamnés sur les témoignages rendus contre eux. Ils sont présentement libres de l'accusation, et il faudroit pour les poursuivre recommencer une nouvelle accusation, et une nouvelle procédure. Cette délibération de la Chambre Haute annule tout ce qui a été fait sur la prétendue conspiration des Catholiques, qui sans cela auroit subsisté : c'est un coup fort important à l'égard de sa Majesté Britannique. Les Milords Devanscher, Anglesey, Claire, et Radnor furent d'un avis contraire, et témoignèrent seulement leur mauvaise volonté.

Le Roy d'Angleterre me parla hier au soir avec beaucoup de chaleur de son attachement pour V. M. et de l'envie qu'il a de conserver son

amitié, et d'augmenter, s'il est possible, les liaisons établies. Il me dit qu'il se croyoit encore plus en état de se conduire suivant son inclination et ses intérêts, se trouvant en possession du revenu dont le feu Roy son frère jouissoit ; que cependant il auroit toujours un grand besoin de l'amitié et des secours de V. M. pour exécuter les choses qu'il a dans l'esprit, et sans lesquelles il ne peut être en sûreté ; que V. M. verroit avec quel soin il ménagera l'honneur de ses bonnes grâces, et avec quelle fermeté il sera dans ses intérêts. Ce Prince me dit ensuite le détail des nouvelles d'Ecosse ; et ajouta, qu'il ne doutoit pas que l'Electeur de Brandebourg et d'autres Princes d'Allemagne n'eussent contribué sous main à l'entreprise du Comte d'Argile, et qu'il seroit soutenu de tous les Protestans de l'Europe ; que cela lui montrait le chemin qu'il doit tenir, et à qui il se peut fier. Je lui dis que j'informerai V. M. de ce qui se passoit, et que je pouvois l'assurer par avance que V. M. n'omettroit rien pour le soutenir, et lui donner des marques essentielles de son amitié.

Les lettres que j'ai reçues de M. d'Avaux, du 29 May, me font voir que les Ambassadeurs d'Hollande qui sont ici, écrivent comme s'ils étoient persuadés que le Roy d'Angleterre est dans une entière disposition à faire une nouvelle et plus étroite alliance avec les Etats Généraux.

V. M. jugera ce qui est à faire ici pour son service dans la conjoncture présente. Je me tiendrai en état d'exécuter ses ordres, sans m'avancer au-delà du paiement de l'ancien subsidé. Je ne doute pas que Milord Rochester, et même le Roy d'Angleterre, ne me pressent bientôt de leur fournir d'autres sommes dont ils savent que les fonds sont ici. Il me paroît que le cas contenu dans les ordres de V. M. est à-peu-près arrivé, puis qu'il y a une rébellion formée en Ecosse qui a ses racines et son fondement en Angleterre et en Irlande. J'attendrai ce qu'il plaira à V. M. de m'ordonner ; mais ce qui se fera bientôt, et du pur mouvement de V. M., sera, ce me semble, d'un autre poids, et d'un plus grand mérite, que les secours qu'on accordera, lorsqu'ils seront demandés avec empressement.

Je sais que des sommes considérables ne se fournissent pas ordinairement sans des stipulations préalables, et sans des assurances positives de l'effet qu'elles peuvent produire. Je ne fais aucun doute que le Roy

d'Angleterre n'entre dans la suite dans tous les engagements que V. M. pourra désirer : je ne me suis point ouvert sur cela, parce que je n'ai pas eu d'ordre positif de V. M. de le faire : j'ai même appréhendé, si j'en commençois le discours, qu'on ne demandât des conditions qui ne lui conviendroient peut-être pas, comme celle de ne point faire, de son côté, d'alliance avec d'autres Princes. Cette égalité n'est pas raisonnable ni admissible entre V. M. et le Roy d'Angleterre, dont la puissance est si différente et si inégale avec la sienne. Mais les Anglois présument toujours d'avantage qu'ils ne doivent, et ceux qui voudroient empêcher ou affoiblir les liaisons entre V. M. et sa Majesté Britannique, trouveroient peut-être des prétextes dans les clauses d'un traité pour en éluder les conclusions. Je fais cette réflexion par avance, sur une chose dont il n'est pas encore question, mais qui pourroit venir en son temps.

Il s'agit seulement à-présent de ce que V. M. m'ordonnera de faire de l'argent qu'elle a fait passer ici. Il me paroît que le Roy d'Angleterre s'engage à mesure qu'il reçoit de l'argent de V. M., et que c'est le meilleur et le plus sur moyen de rendre inutiles tous ces efforts qu'on fera pour l'ébranler, et pour lui faire prendre un chemin opposé aux intérêts de V. M. je crois voir cela clairement, et qu'il y auroit du péril à laisser le Roy d'Angleterre sans secours, dans le temps qu'il peut en avoir plus de besoin. Il est vrai que le Parlement lui a accordé le revenu du feu Roy ; il pourra même dans la suite donner quelque chose pour la flotte ; mais la guerre civile est commencée en Ecosse, et je vois des gens fort sensés qui sont persuadés que l'entreprise du Comte d'Argile est plus considérable encore qu'elle ne paroît.

Dès que l'acte des revenus sera passé, les affaires qui regardent la religion seront sur le tapis, et quantité d'autres affaires. J'estime qu'il seroit utile, en ce temps là, pour le service de V. M. de pouvoir ménager quelques gens du Parlement, et leur inspirer une conduite telle qu'il convient aux intérêts de V. M. : une somme de quinze cent ou deux mille pièces suffiroit pour conserver à V. M. un crédit dont elle pourroit avoir besoin en d'autres temps. Je ne ferai rien sur cela, quand j'en aurois la permission, qu'avec de grandes précautions.

Milord Montaigu m'est venu trouver avant son départ pour France : il

m'a fort pressé d'écrire à V. M. pour le parfait payement de ce qui lui reste dû. Il m'a dit qu'au lieu de cinquante mille écus qui lui sont dus, il se contenteroit d'une pension pendant sa vie ; qu'il prétendoit ne pouvoir être moindre que de vingt mille livres : il croit que ce seroit un moyen de satisfaire à ce qui lui est légitimement dû, sans que V. M. fut obligée de déboursier une somme considérable, et que ce seroit même une sûreté de sa conduite dans tous les temps, puisque V. M. pourroit faire cesser le payement de la pension, si V. M. n'étoit pas contente de lui. J'en ai pu me refuser à rendre compte à V. M. de cette proposition. Il est certain que M. de Montaignu a rendu un grand service. Il en doit parler lui-même à M. de Croissy.

Extrait d'une Lettre de M. Barillon au Roi.

4 Juin, 1685, à Londres.

LE discours de M. Seymer a fait beaucoup de bruit à Londres, et à la Cour, quoiqu'il n'ait point retardé la résolution de la Chambre Basse pour la concession ; mais dans la suite il sera souvent parlé de ce discours, dans lequel les questions importantes ont été traitées à fonds. M. Seymer ne s'est point opposé à ce que l'on donnât au Roy d'Angleterre les revenus dont le feu Roy jouissoit ; mais il a proposé qu'on remit à en délibérer jusqu'à ce que les formes dans lesquelles les élections des membres du Parlement ont été faites, eussent été examinées. Il a soutenu qu'elles étoient pour la plupart vicieuses, et faites par cabale, et par autorité, ce qui est directement contraire aux loix d'Angleterre, qui établissent une entière liberté sur le sujet des élections, en sorte que la moindre corruption en argent étant prouvée rend l'élection nulle ; que les sherifs et autres officiers qui avoient présidé à ces élections, avoient été tous préposés en vertu des nouvelles chartres accordées depuis peu au lieu des anciennes qui ont été révoquées ; que l'exemple de ce qui a été fait à l'égard de la ville de Londres, dans la révocation de ses chartres, et de ses privilèges, avoit été suivi dans les autres villes et bourgs, quoique selon les loix et l'usage, il ne soit pas au pouvoir du Roi de révoquer ni de rendre nulles des chartres accordées par les Rois ses prédécesseurs, confirmées par un temps immémorial, et par

l'approbation expresse et tacite de plusieurs parlements ; qu'ainsi le principe des élections étant (vicieux) défectueux, les députés n'étoit pas de véritables membres du parlement, choisis par la nation contre la liberté requise et dans les règles usitées ; que cependant il n'y avoit pas eu de temps au quel il fut plus nécessaire d'avoir un Parlement composé de gens bien intentionnés et attachés aux loix d'Angleterre, parce que la nation étoit en un péril évident de voir changer ses loix et sa religion ; que l'aversion des peuples d'Angleterre contre la religion Catholique Romaine, et leur attachement pour leurs loix étoient tellement établis dans les esprits, qu'on ne pouvoit détruire leur religion et leurs loix que par des actes du Parlement, ce qui ne seroit pas difficile, quand un Parlement se trouve entièrement dépendant de ceux qui peuvent avoir de tels desseins ; que l'on parloit déjà d'abolir le *Test*, qui étoit le seul rempart capable d'empêcher l'introduction du Papisme ; et que dès que cet obstacle seroit levé, les Papistes viendroient aisément à bout de rentrer dans les charges et dans les emplois, et d'établir leur religion sur la destruction de la religion Protestante ; que l'on disoit aussi que l'intention étoit de casser l'acte d'*Habeas Corpus*, qui est le plus ferme fondement des libertés des Anglois ; que si cet acte étoit révoqué, le gouvernement arbitraire se trouveroit bientôt établi ; que ce qu'il avançoit étoit connu de tout le monde, et n'avoit pas besoin de preuves ; qu'ainsi, avant de prendre aucune résolution de conséquence, il étoit nécessaire d'examiner la validité des élections, et de décider, selon les règles établies en Angleterre, si les Deputés étoient capables de constituer un véritable et légitime Parlement qui put représenter la Nation.

Ce discours fut prononcé avec beaucoup de force, et eut l'approbation secrète de beaucoup de gens ; mais personne ne se leva pour l'approuver. Ceux de son parti crurent qu'ils le feroient inutilement, et que la contestation qu'ils formeroient, ne serviroit qu'à montrer leur foiblesse et leur petit nombre, en comparaison des autres qui se croyent élus. Ces mêmes questions reviendront souvent dans la suite, et serviront de fondement à tout ce qui sera allégué contre les résolutions du Parlement présentement assemblé. Ceux qui lui contestent son pouvoir n'ont point d'autres juges que les mêmes gens à qui on dispute la validité de leurs élections ; c'est ce qui fit mettre à la Tour, pendant un assez longtems, les Pairs qui

voulurent soutenir, il y a quelques années, que le Parlement n'étoit pas un véritable Parlement, et ils furent obligés à la fin de se rétracter.

Le fils aîné du Comte d'Argile, nommé Milord Lorn, est venu se remettre entre les mains du Roy d'Angleterre, et a offert de servir contre son père ; il y a un autre de ses enfants avec lui. On croit tous les jours d'avantage ici que cette affaire est considérable.

Extrait d'une Lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

7 Juin, 1685, à Londres.

ON eut hier des nouvelles d'Irlande qui portent que le Comte d'Argile avoit descendu dans l'île d'Yle, qui est à lui ; les 500 hommes qui y avoient été mis par le Marquis d'Atol s'étoient déjà retirés. Plusieurs des habitants en sont aussi sortis pour ne se pas déclarer en faveur du Comte d'Argile. On croit ici qu'il lui seroit impossible de demeurer long temps dans cette île, à moins qu'il ne soit secouru par les gens du Nord de l'Irlande : il n'y paroît aucune disposition. Les troupes de sa Majesté Britannique se sont avancées, et ont occupé les endroits propres à empêcher les peuples de s'assembler ni de rien entreprendre : cela fait dire ici que l'entreprise du Comte d'Argile n'aura aucun succès. On ne sait pourtant point encore ce qui se passe dans la terre ferme d'Ecosse où il a d'abord mis pied à terre, et où le bruit est qu'il a laissé un de ses enfants pour assembler les gens du pays qui sont pour lui. Personne ne doute que son dessein ne soit fondé sur l'espérance que M. le Duc de Monmouth essayeroit en même temps d'exciter une révolte en Angleterre ; mais on croit que M. le Duc de Monmouth n'a osé hasarder d'y venir. On a commencé en Ecosse à lui faire son procès. L'acte de la concession des revenus sera passé dans trois ou quatre jours ; il a été lu pour la seconde fois à la Chambre des Pairs. Le Parlement ne s'assemble point aujourd'hui, parce qu'il est le jour de l'Ascension, ni demain, parce que c'est le jour du Rétablissement du feu Roy d'Angleterre, et qu'on veut en célébrer la fête.

Il se passa avant-hier une chose de grande conséquence dans la Chambre Basse : il fut proposé le matin que la chambre se mettoit en comité

l'après-dîner pour considérer la harangue du Roy sur l'affaire de la religion, et savoir ce qui devoit être entendu par le terme *de religion Protestante*. La résolution fut prise unanimement, et sans contradiction, de faire une adresse au Roy pour le prier de faire une Proclamation pour l'exécution des loix contre tous les Nonconformistes généralement, c'est-à-dire, contre tous ceux qui ne sont pas ouvertement de l'Eglise Anglicane ; cela enferme les Presbitériens et tous les sectaires, aussi bien que les Catholiques Romains. La malice de cette résolution fut aussitôt reconnue du Roy d'Angleterre et de ses ministres : les principaux de la Chambre Basse furent mandés, et ceux que sa Majesté Britannique croit être dans ses intérêts : il leur fit une reprimande sévère de s'être laissés séduire et entraîner à une résolution si dangereuse et si peu admissible. Il leur déclara que si l'on persistoit à lui faire un pareille adresse, il répondroit à la Chambre Basse en termes si décisifs et si fermes qu'on ne retourneroit pas à lui faire un pareille adresse. La manière dont sa Majesté Britannique s'expliqua, produisit son effet hiér matin, et la Chambre Basse rejeta tout d'une voix ce qui avoit été résolu en comité le jour auparavant.

On fait grande reflexion ici sur cette marque de déférence et de soumission que la Chambre Basse a donnée. Mais ceux qui savent les motifs de la première délibération, voient bien que la seconde est forcée, et que ce qui se fait par autorité n'empêche pas que le sentiment unanime n'ait été de donner un coup aux Catholiques, et de faire même comprendre au Roy d'Angleterre combien il trouveroit de difficulté à rien obtenir du Parlement en leur faveur.

Ce Prince a témoigné beaucoup d'aigreur contre ses domestiques et autres gens attachés particulièrement à lui, qui ont donné les mains, par malice ou par ignorance, à une résolution si peu respectueuse à son égard : il connoît le ridicule et le danger qu'il y a pour lui d'être prié par le Parlement de poursuivre avec rigueur l'exécution des loix contre les Catholiques et les Nonconformistes. Cependant il en tire cet avantage, qu'il a connu le fonds des intentions de la Chambre Basse, et qu'il a fait un coup d'autorité en les obligéant à se retracter dès le lendemain d'une résolution prise unanimement.

Sa Majesté Britannique sait très-mauvais gré aux évêques qui, sous pré-

texte de zèle pour l'Eglise Anglicane, avoient fait prendre une résolution si absurde et si dangereuse. Les gens opposés à la Cour témoignent secrètement leur joie de ce que la Chambre Basse a montré à tout le monde quels étoient ses sentiments sur la religion : ils ne comptent pas pour beaucoup que la Chambre Basse ait été obligée de se rétracter, espérant qu'en une autre occasion elle aura plus de fermeté, et que le Roy d'Angleterre ne sera pas toujours en état et en volonté de faire des coups d'autorité.

On a parlé dans la Chambre Basse d'exclure ceux qui avoient été d'avis d'exclure M. le Duc d'York de la succession ; mais les principaux de la Chambre avoient ordre de s'opposer à cette proposition, ainsi elle n'a eu aucune suite. C'étoit une tentative contre plusieurs des Ministres, qui sont à-présent dans la confiance du Roy d'Angleterre.

On voit par ce qui s'est passé hier et avant-hier combien il est difficile de prévoir ce qu'un Parlement peut faire. Cela fait dire déjà que le Parlement ne sera pas long temps assemblé : eux-mêmes ont envie d'être prorogés ou ajournés, voyant bien qu'ils ne sont pas en état de prendre une résolution de conséquence, et de la soutenir, quand elle ne sera pas agréable à sa Majesté Britannique. Ils sont aussi fort incommodés dans leur Chambre, qui est trop petite pour contenir le nombre dont elle est composée, qui est de cinq cents treize personnes. Il est pourtant apparent que la Cour fera encore quelque effort pour les obliger à donner quelque chose pour mettre la flotte en bon état.

Les Commissaires de la Compagnie des Indes d'Amsterdam, et ceux de la Compagnie de Londres se sont assemblés : ils ne paroissent pas encore disposés à convenir ensemble, ni à s'approcher : ceux de Hollande veulent gagner du temps, et traiter par écrit dans les délais ordinaires ; les Anglois veulent abrégér la matière, et aller au fait, c'est-à-dire, convenir de la restitution dans Bantam. Les Hollandois auroient bien de la peine à y donner de bonne foi les mains

Je sais qu'il a été agité dans les assemblées particulières qui se font des gens du Parlement de proposer quelque chose à l'égard de la France, et de marquer au Roy d'Angleterre le chemin qu'il doit tenir. On n'a pas trouvé de prétexte apparent de rien proposer présentement sur cela ; s'il y en avoit quelque occasion dans la suite on ne la manqueroit pas, autant par

mauvaise intention contre le Roy d'Angleterre, que pour l'embarrasser par la jalousie de la grandeur de V. M. qui est naturellement dans les esprits des Anglois. On a parlé dans une de ces conférences de faire une adresse pour prier sa Majesté Britannique de s'employer à conserver le repos à l'Europe : cette proposition a été trouvée trop générale, et sujette à interprétation : on a même cru qu'elle pourroit donner lieu à sa Majesté Britannique de s'en tenir plus étroitement avec V. M., sous prétexte de la conservation de la paix.

Le Roy d'Angleterre vient de me dire qu'il est arrivé un courier exprès d'Ecosse, parti d'Edinbourg le 4. de ce mois ; que le Comte d'Argile est entré dans le pays de Cantir, qui lui appartient : c'est une langue de terre qui s'étend devers l'Irlande. Il s'est avancé jusques au pays qui porte le nom d'Argile, pour aller au-devant des troupes du Marquis d'Atol, et empêcher qu'elles ne se joignent avec les autres royalistes. Les lettres portent que le Comte d'Argile a trois mille hommes avec lui. L'opinion de sa Majesté Britannique est que ses troupes grossiront encore. Son fils est dans le pays de Lorn, et il leur est aisé de se joindre. Toutes les lettres qui viennent d'Ecosse font juger que le Comte d'Argile s'attendoit que M. le Duc de Monmouth se mettroit en devoir d'exciter une révolte en Angleterre. Je suis avec le profond respect que je dois, &c.

Le Roy à M. Barillon.

à Versailles, le 15 Juin, 1685.

MONSIEUR BARILLON, j'ai reçu par la voie ordinaire vos lettres des 4 et 7 de ce mois, et par le courier que vous m'avez dépêché, celle du 10^e, qui ne contient rien de plus considérable que les précédentes, sinon les raisons que vous avez de croire qu'il est du bien de mon service que je vous donne pouvoir de faire payer au Roy d'Angleterre la somme de *cent mille écus*, outre et par-dessus ce qui lui reste dû, à cause du subside promis au feu Roy son frère. Mais il me paroît, au contraire, par tout ce que contiennent vos dernières lettres, que ce Prince a moins de besoin de mon assistance à-présent, qu'il en a eu depuis qu'il est parvenu à la couronne.

Et en effet je vois premièrement que toutes les remontrances que le Sieur Seymer a faites dans la Chambre Basse, et tout ce qu'il a dit pour attaquer la validité des élections, n'a servi qu'à déterminer plus promptement le Parlement à continuer au Roy les mêmes revenus dont jouissoit le feu Roy son frère ; que d'ailleurs le bruit que fait le débarquement du Comte d'Argile en Ecosse avec une petite suite de rebelles mal pourvus de toutes choses, et peu capables d'une grande entreprise, a fait prendre aussi la résolution au Parlement d'accorder encore au dit Roy jusqu'à la somme de *seize cent mille livres sterling*, qui feront plus de *vingt millions de livres* ; qu'enfin ce Prince n'a pas plutôt témoigné combien lui seroit désagréable la proposition que toute la Chambre des Communes avoit résolu de faire d'une proclamation pour l'exécution des loix contre tous les Nonconformistes, qu'elle a rejeté d'un commun consentement la délibération des commissaires ; ensorte qu'on peut dire que jamais Roy d'Angleterre n'a agi avec plus d'autorité dans son Parlement que ce Prince fait à-présent, et qu'il n'y a rien qu'il ne s'en doive promettre pour l'affermissement de son autorité, et pour la punition du petit nombre de rebelles qui ont osé paroître. Ainsi j'ai sujet de me promettre que non seulement il ne désirera point de moi, dans la conjoncture présente, d'autre assistance que celle que je vous ai promis de lui donner, c'est-à-dire, le payement de ce qui reste dû de subsides, mais même qu'il demeurera persuadé que les témoignages publics de mon amitié, et la crainte des secours que je n'aurois pas manqué de lui donner, s'il en avoit eu besoin, ont beaucoup contribué à maintenir ses sujets dans le devoir, et à lui faire obtenir de son Parlement tout ce qu'il en a désiré jusqu'à-présent.

Il ne reste donc plus, tant pour ma satisfaction que pour la sienne, qu'à obtenir la révocation des loix pénales en faveur des Catholiques, et le libre exercice de notre religion dans tous ses états, et vous savez que c'est aussi le principal motif qui m'a porté à vous faire remettre avec tant de diligence des sommes si considérables. Mais comme ce Prince ne juge pas à-propos de tenter, quant à-présent, cette demande, je ne veux pas aussi le presser de se mettre au hazard d'un refus dans une matière si importante, et pour le succès de la quelle il est de sa prudence de prendre des mesures bien justes. Je croirois néanmoins qu'à-présent que le Parlement paroît disposé à ne lui rien refuser, soit que la seule affection le fasse

agir, ou que la crainte y soit mêlée, ce Prince seroit très-sagement d'en profiter, et d'en tirer ce qu'il désire en faveur de notre religion, sans leur donner le temps de se reconnoître, et de concerter avec ceux qui sont le plus animés contre notre religion ce qu'ils auront à faire pour en empêcher le progrès ; et si le Roy prenoit ce parti là, et qu'il trouvât quelque obstacle qu'il ne pût vaincre qu'avec mon assistance, je la lui accorderois volontiers, aussitôt que vous m'auriez informé de ses besoins. Mais jusqu'à ce qu'il prenne cette résolution, et qu'il l'exécute, mon intention n'est pas de rien changer aux ordres que je vous ai donnés ; et je veux que vous gardiez les fonds que je vous ai fait remettre, pour n'en disposer que lorsque je le jugerai nécessaire. Cependant, si le Grand Trésorier d'Angleterre vous presse de lui faire quelque payement au-delà de l'ancien subside, vous lui direz seulement que, comme le Parlement se conduit selon mes souhaits et ceux du dit Roy, je n'ai pas sujet de croire que ce Prince puisse avoir besoin à-présent d'une assistance extraordinaire, et qu'ainsi vous n'avez pas pouvoir de disposer de ce que vous avez de fonds.

Je vous envoie la lettre de ma main que vous m'avez proposé d'écrire au Roy tant sur la satisfaction que lui donne son Parlement, que sur ce qui regarde les mouvements d'Ecosse ; et je désire que sur l'un et l'autre de ces points vous ne parliez qu'en conformité de ce que j'écris au Roy, et de ce que contient cette dépêche, ne jugeant pas à-propos d'offrir ouvertement un secours de troupes à un Prince qui ne m'en demande point, et pour une affaire qu'il peut terminer par ses propres forces.

Extrait d'une Lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

18 Juin, 1685, à Londres.

IL y a des gens ici qui voudroient faire tomber sur la France le soupçon qu'on rejette sur la ville d'Amsterdam, comme s'il y avoit assez d'intelligence entre V. M. et cette ville pour présumer que tout ce qui s'y fait est de concert avec V. M.

Le Roy d'Angleterre rejette avec aigreur et dédain ce qu'on dit en sa présence de l'intérêt qu'a V. M. d'entretenir les divisions en Angleterre. Ce Prince s'explique tout haut que les rebelles sont soutenus et aidés des

Protestants zélés des autres pays, et traite de ridicule tout ce qui se dit d'opposé à cela.

Je suis avec le profond respect que je dois, &c.

Le Roy à M. Barillon.

à Versailles, le 13 Juillet, 1685.

MONSIEUR BARILLON, j'ai reçu vos lettres des deux et cinq de ce mois, et elles m'ont donné d'autant plus de satisfaction qu'elles ne me laissent aucun lieu de douter que le Roy de la Grande Bretagne n'ait la même facilité à dissiper le peu qui reste de révoltés en Angleterre, qu'il en a eu à punir la rébellion d'Ecosse ; et comme le Duc de Monmouth a déjà perdu ses vaisseaux, et n'a aucune ville considérable où il se puisse retirer, il y a bien de l'apparence qu'il aura bientôt le même sort que le Comte d'Argile, et que son attentat aura servi à rendre le Roy d'Angleterre beaucoup plus absolu dans son royaume qu'aucun de ses prédécesseurs.

J'apprends cependant qu'outre les trois régiments Anglois qu'il fait revenir d'Hollande le Prince d'Orange a encore demandé pour lui aux Etats Généraux un secours de trois mille hommes ; que même il en a fait demander à l'Electeur de Brandebourg ; et comme il m'a paru jusqu'à-présent, par tout ce que vous m'avez écrit, que le Roy ne vouloit pas se servir de troupes étrangères, pour ne point donner d'ombrage à ses sujets, je serai bien aise que vous me fassiez savoir si c'est par ses ordres que le Prince d'Orange a fait cette demande, celui-ci pouvant bien, pour ses fins particulières, désirer d'avoir beaucoup de troupes en Angleterre qui lui seroient dévouées, et dont il pourroit disposer ensuite contre les intérêts du dit Roy.

Continuez aussi à m'informer exactement de tout ce qui se passera au lieu où vous êtes, dans une conjoncture si importante, et donner tous vos soins à en être bien averti, et à m'en rendre un compte exact.

Comme je vois avec plaisir que le Parlement d'Angleterre fournit amplement à tous les besoins du Roy de la Grande Bretagne, et que ce Prince ne trouvera pas même d'obstacle au rétablissement de la Religion Catholique, lorsqu'il voudra l'entreprendre, après qu'il aura achevé de dissiper

le peu qui reste de révoltés, j'ai jugé à-propos de faire revenir les fonds que je vous avois fait remettre pour appuyer, en cas de besoin, les desseins que ce Prince voudroit former en faveur de notre religion. Ainsi mon intention est que, si cet argent est dans votre maison, vous le fassiez remettre à plusieurs fois entre les mains des banquiers avec le même secret qu'ils l'y ont porté, et s'il se peut, d'une manière encore plus impénétrable, voulant que, soit qu'il soit demeuré entre les mains des dits banquiers ou chez vous, il soit renvoyé par les mêmes voies, et remis en mon épargne, jusqu'à ce que je juge nécessaire de l'employer en faveur du Roy d'Angleterre.

M. de Barillon au Roy.

16 Juillet, 1685, à Londres.

JE n'ai pu, après la séparation du Parlement, différer de m'expliquer à Milord Grand Trésorier sur les instances qu'il m'a faites de continuer les payements du subside. Je lui ai dit que je ne pouvois disposer des fonds qui avoient été envoyés ici, sans avoir de nouveaux ordres ; que ces fonds étoient destinés pour les plus pressants besoins du Roy d'Angleterre, et que ce besoin pressant ne paroissoit pas présentement, après que le Parlement avoit accordé des sommes fort considérables pour l'augmentation de ses revenus pendant plusieurs années, et avoit même accordé un subside extraordinaire, dont l'avantage pouvoit être reçu dès-à-présent par emprunt.

Je me doutois bien que ce discours ne plairoit point au Grand Trésorier. Il me parût fort surpris, et me fit entendre qu'il ne pouvoit s'imaginer quelle raison V. M. avoit de faire cesser le payement de sommes envoyées ici dans le temps auquel le Roy son maître en avoit le plus de besoin, et lorsqu'il s'attendoit de recevoir plus de marques de l'amitié de V. M. ; qu'il étoit vrai que le Parlement avoit accordé des droits pendant plusieurs années, outre le revenu, mais que ce qui s'en pouvoit tirer n'étoit pas présent, et que si on consumoit ces fonds par avance, le Roy son maître se trouveroit à l'avenir très-mal dans ses affaires ; ce qu'il ne pouvoit éviter avec trop de soin, connoissant en quel embarras se jette un Roy d'Angleterre qui a un grand besoin de son Parlement, qu'il ne croyoit pas que

V. M. fut pleinement informée de ce qui se passe en Angleterre présentement ; et que dans le temps qu'il y a une guerre civile allumée dans le cœur du royaume, et lorsque le Roy son maître a besoin non seulement de ses forces, mais du secours de tous ceux qui prennent intérêt à sa conservation, V. M. veuille retrancher les subsides qu'elle a fournis dans le temps qu'il en avoit moins de besoin, et lorsque ce retranchement n'auroit pû être d'aucune conséquence ; au lieu que dans la conjoncture présente les secours de V. M. sont non seulement utiles, mais nécessaires. Enfin, ce ministre n'omit rien pour me faire connoître que ce que je lui avois dit étoit un contretemps dont il ne pouvoit pénétrer le motif, ne croyant pas que V. M. eut changé de sentiments pour le Roy son maître, ni qu'il voulût (quand cela seroit) le faire paroître en une occasion comme celle-ci.

Je fis mon possible pour expliquer à ce Ministre que V. M. avoit simplement jugé que le Roy d'Angleterre étoit en état de n'avoir aucun besoin de secours de dehors ; que la révolte du Comte d'Argile avoit duré si peu qu'on ne pouvoit la regarder que comme un effort inutile du parti des factieux, qui n'avoit eu aucune suite ; qu'on ne s'imaginoit pas non plus en France que l'entreprise de M. le Duc de Monmouth put avoir aucun succès, et qu'on s'attendoit tous les jours d'apprendre que ses troupes se seroient dissipées, et qu'il auroit été pris ou qu'il se seroit sauvé ; que V. M. avoit témoigné son amitié au Roy d'Angleterre, en envoyant si promptement des fonds pour ses plus pressants besoins, et qu'elle les réservoir aussi pour une occasion qui ne paroît pas arrivée.

Le Grand Trésorier me répliqua qu'il n'arriveroit jamais, du règne du Roy son maître, une occasion si pressante que celle-ci, et qu'il ne pouvoit s'imaginer que V. M. sachant bien ce qui se passe ici, lui voulût laisser démêler une affaire si décisive sans lui donner de nouvelles marques de son amitié. Au sortir de chez le Grand Trésorier, je fus trouver le Roy d'Angleterre, pour le prévenir, et empêcher que le Grand Trésorier ne lui expliquât ce que je lui avois dit d'une façon qui l'auroit plus aigri et plus aigri que je ne serois. Je fis souvenir ce Prince de toutes les marques d'amitié qu'il a reçues de V. M. dans tous les temps, et de la promptitude avec laquelle V. M. lui a fait connoître la sincérité de ses intentions, pour le soutenir lors de son avènement à la couronne. Je lui fis connoître que

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rien ne pouvoit diminuer les sentiments de V. M. à son égard qu'un changement de conduite de sa part, que je croyois qui n'arriveroit jamais ; qu'ainsi il pouvoit s'assurer d'une amitié ferme et constante de la part de V. M. dont il recevroit des marques éclatantes et essentielles, quand les occasions s'en présenteroient ; que cependant, V. M. croyoit les affaires de ses finances en si bon état, qu'elle n'avoit pas estimé qu'il eut besoin présentement de nouveaux secours, et que ce qu'il avoit reçu du Parlement le mettoit en pouvoir de soutenir de plus grandes dépenses que celles qu'il étoit obligé de faire.

Le Roy d'Angleterre me parût assez embarrassé, et s'imagina d'abord que V. M. étoit mécontente de sa conduite, et vouloit, en quelque façon, renoncer à son amitié. Je lui dit que je ne savois rien qui eut rapport à ce qu'il me disoit ; que seulement il étoit vrai que je n'avoit point d'ordre de continuer les paiements au-delà de l'ancien subsidé ; que V. M. m'avoit cependant ordonné de l'assurer que les fonds qu'elle avoit envoyés ici, seroient réservés pour le secourir dans un pressant besoin, et que s'il entreprenoit d'établir l'exercice libre de la religion en faveur des Catholiques, et qu'il y trouvât des difficultés dont il ne put venir à bout sans le secours de V. M. elle employeroit tout le fonds qui est ici pour le secourir et pour l'aider ; qu'il pouvoit voir par là les intentions de V. M., et la sincérité de sa conduite. Ce que je dis remit, en quelque façon, l'esprit de ce Prince, qui me parût d'abord fort agité.

Il me répondit à ce que je venois de lui dire, que je connoissois le fonds de ses intentions pour l'établissement de la religion Catholique ; qu'il n'espéroit en venir à bout que par l'assistance de V. M. ; que je voyois qu'il venoit de donner des emplois dans ses troupes aux Catholiques aussi bien qu'aux Protestants ; que cette égalité fâchoit beaucoup de gens, mais qu'il n'avoit pas laissé passer une occasion si importante sans s'en prévaloir ; qu'il feroit de même à l'égard des choses praticables, et que je voyois plus clair sur cela dans ses desseins que ses propres ministres, s'en étoient souvent ouvert avec moi sans réserve. Il ajouta, que j'étois témoin de son attachement pour la personne de V. M., et de l'envie sincère qu'il avoit de ne se jamais séparer de ses intérêts ; qu'il avoit plus compté sur l'assistance de V. M. et sur son amitié, que sur aucune autre chose au monde, et qu'il ne

croyoit pas que V. M. voulût dans la conjoncture présente cesser des subsides dont il avoit plus de besoin qu'il n'en aura de sa vie.

Je répondis à cela que V. M. n'avoit point changé de sentiment, et qu'elle jugeoit seulement qu'il n'avoit pas besoin des mêmes assistances, ayant été mis par le Parlement en état de s'en passer. Je me contentai d'avoir entamé la matière et d'y avoir mêlé l'affaire de la religion, dans la quelle le Grand Trésorier n'entre part fort avant, quelque crédit qu'il ait dans les autres choses. J'informai Milord Sunderland de ce qui se passoit, afin qu'il fut préparé, quand le Roy son maître lui parleroit. Il m'a dit : " Le Roy votre maître peut avoir des desseins que je ne pénétre pas ; mais ceci est un contre-temps auquel j'espère qu'on remédiera, en faisant voir que c'est une méprise fondée sur ce qu'on n'a pas été pleinement informé de ce qui se passe dans ce pays-ci ; autrement vous donneriez des armes à ceux qui veulent rompre l'union des deux Rois. Si l'on ne s'en soucie pas en France, je n'ai rien à dire ; mais si on fait quelque cas de nous, je sais bien que vous pouvez être assuré du Roy d'Angleterre pour toujours ; et que ses desseins, et ses intentions, ne peuvent réussir qu'avec l'assistance et l'amitié du Roy votre maître."

J'expliquai à Milord Sunderland ce que j'avois dit au Grand Trésorier, et à sa Majesté Britannique, du bon état des finances et du peu de besoin qu'on a ici du secours de dehors. Il me répliqua : " Vous voyez à quelles dépenses l'on s'engage, et ce qu'il faudra pour les soutenir ; vous savez ce que coûtent des troupes qu'il faut entretenir, et ce que c'est qu'une guerre civile dans le dedans, qu'on ne peut s'assurer de voir sitôt finir ; mais pour le présent on n'est pas ici en état de se passer du secours du Roy votre maître, et je ne crois pas qu'il puisse faire de dépense qui lui soit plus utile."

J'ai eu une seconde conférence avec le Roy d'Angleterre dans son cabinet, où nous fûmes longtemps seuls. Il me parut persuadé que le refus de continuer le payement vient de ce que V. M. croit qu'il est en état de se passer de secours étrangers. Il entra sur cela dans le détail de ses affaires, et me dit que je savois en quel désordre le feu Roy son frère avoit laissé ses magasins et ses vaisseaux ; que les droits d'augmentation qui lui avoient été accordés pourroient à-peine être suffisants pour remettre une flotte

médiocre en état de tenir la mer ; que le dernier secours accordé par le Parlement seroit consommé par avance pour l'entretien des troupes, dont il ne se pouvoit passer à l'avenir, connoissant le peu de fonds qu'il peut faire sur les milices ; que les charges du gouvernement étoient telles (sans compter que la guerre civile peut durer) qu'il n'auroit de sa vie plus de besoin d'être assisté qu'il en a présentement ; que je le connoissois assez pour savoir qu'il seroit fort aise d'être attaché et uni à V. M. sans avoir besoin d'un secours d'argent ; et qu'il se feroit un grand plaisir de pouvoir mériter d'autres marques de son amitié ; mais que dans la conjoncture présente les secours de V. M. lui étoient nécessaires, et qu'il ne croyoit pas que V. M. voulût réserver pour d'autres temps le secours qu'elle a destiné pour lui, n'y ayant pas d'apparence qu'il puisse arriver de conjoncture où il en puisse avoir un plus grand besoin ; que je connoissois le fond de ses desseins, et que je pouvois répondre que tout son but étoit d'établir la religion Catholique ; qu'il ne perdrait aucune occasion de le faire ; qu'il avoit armé les Catholiques en Irlande ; que Milord Dumbarton avoit eu le commandement de son armée d'Ecosse ; que le Duc de Gordon avoit été mis à la tête des milices ; que présentement il mettoit les charges de guerre, autant qu'il pouvoit dans les mains des Catholiques d'Angleterre ; que c'étoit en quelque façon lever le masque, mais qu'il n'avoit pas voulu laisser passer l'occasion de le faire, la croyant décisive ; qu'il savoit combien de gens en étoient choqués, mais qu'il iroit son chemin, et que rien ne l'en détourneroit, pourvû que votre Majesté veuille l'assister dans un si grand et si glorieux dessein ; que déjà le régiment de dragons d'Hamilton étoit composé entièrement de Catholiques ; qu'il avoit donné des compagnies de cavalerie franches à Bernard Howard, et à plusieurs Catholiques considérables ; que peu-à-peu il va à son but, et que ce qu'il fait présentement emporte nécessairement l'exercice libre de la religion Catholique, qui se trouvera établi avant qu'un acte de Parlement l'autorise ; que je connoissois assez l'Angleterre pour savoir que la possibilité d'avoir des emplois et des charges fera plus de Catholiques, que la permission de dire des messes publiquement ; que cependant il s'attendoit que V. M. ne l'abandonneroit pas, quand il a un ennemi dans le milieu de son royaume qui lui dispute la couronne ; et qu'il est favorisé secrètement d'un grand nombre de gens qui

sont plutôt pour la prétention d'un Bâtard Protestant que pour leur Roy légitime parce qu'il est Catholique.

J'ai eu aussi deux autres conférences avec Milord Trésorier et avec Milord Sunderland séparément. Milord Trésorier me répéta ce qu'il m'avoit dit, et me fit comprendre qu'il savoit bien que le Roy son maître seroit fort aise de n'avoir point besoin d'un secours d'argent; que dans un autre temps, il n'auroit pas répliqué à ce que j'avois dit, et qu'on auroit songé à donner et à recevoir des marques d'amitié réciproques de V. M.; mais qu'il ne me falloit pas céler que le Roy son maître avoit besoin des secours présents de V. M. et que ce n'est pas une obligation qu'il voulut lui avoir, si son dessein n'étoit d'en conserver une reconnoissance proportionnée au fait; que le bonheur et la sûreté du règne du Roy son maître dépendoit de l'amitié de V. M., qu'il la conserveroit avec soin, et que je pouvois être assuré qu'à son égard (de lui qui me parloit) il ne croyoit rien de si important au Roy son maître, que de conserver l'amitié de V. M., et que rien ne lui pouvoit faire tant de mal que d'en être privé.

Je ne répondis à cela que des choses générales, et que V. M. avoit donné assez de marques de l'envie qu'elle a que les affaires du Roy d'Angleterre soient dans un état avantageux et assuré.

Milord Sunderland est entré fort avant avec moi, et m'a paru informé à fonds de ce qui s'est passé entre le Roy d'Angleterre et moi, sur le sujet de la Religion Catholique. Ce ministre m'a dit, " Je ne sais pas si on voit en France les choses comme elles sont ici; mais je défie ceux qui les voyent de près de ne pas connoître que le Roy mon maître n'a rien dans le cœur si avant que l'envie d'établir la Religion Catholique; qu'il ne peut même, selon le bon sens et la droite raison, avoir d'autre but, que sans cela il ne sera jamais en sûreté, et sera toujours exposé au zèle indiscret de ceux qui échaufferont les peuples contre la Catholicité, tant qu'elle ne sera pas plus pleinement établie: il y a une autre chose certaine, c'est que ce plan là ne peut réussir que par un concert et une liaison étroite avec le Roy votre maître; c'est un projet qui ne peut convenir qu'à lui, ni réussir que par lui. Toutes les autres Puissances s'y opposeront ouvertement, ou le traverseront sous main. On sait bien que cela ne convient point au Prince d'Orange; mais il ne sera pas en état de l'empêcher si on veut se conduire

en France comme il est nécessaire, c'est-à-dire, ménager l'amitié du Roy d'Angleterre, et le soutenir dans son projet. Je vois clairement l'appréhension que beaucoup de gens ont d'une liaison avec la France, et les efforts qu'on fait pour l'affoiblir ; mais cela ne sera au pouvoir de personne, si on n'en a pas envie en France ; c'est sur quoi il faut que vous vous expliquiez nettement, et que vous fassiez connoître que le Roy votre maître, veut aider de bonne foi le Roy d'Angleterre à établir fermement ici la religion Catholique."

Il ajouta à cela, qu'il avoit eu un long entretien avec sa Majesté Britannique, et qu'il l'avoit laissée persuadée^e que le refus de continuer les payements n'étoit fondé sur aucun changement de V. M. à son égard, mais sur une supposition qu'il est en état de n'en avoir pas besoin ; que cependant, il étoit possible de rectifier cet incident, si on ne vouloit pas que le Roy d'Angleterre crut qu'après l'avoir assisté, quand il n'en avoit pas grand besoin, votre Majesté l'abandonne dans la conjoncture de sa vie la plus importante ; que peut-être V. M. avoit quelque égard au bruit répandu d'une réunion entre le Roy d'Angleterre et le Prince d'Orange ; que dans le fonds il n'y avoit rien de plus difficile ; que l'un étoit possesseur d'une couronne que l'autre attend avec impatience ; que la différence de leur religion et de leur sentiments en tout, ne promet pas qu'ils se réunissent de bonne foi ; qu'ils sont obligés l'un et l'autre de dissimuler, et de garder les bienséances, mais que leurs desseins et leurs projets sont trop opposés pour se pouvoir concilier ; que lui qui me parloit voyoit tout cela clairement, et que si on se vouloit donner la peine de le bien examiner, on verroit au travers de tout ce qui se passe, un fonds de jalousie et de mécontentement entre le Roy d'Angleterre et le Prince d'Orange que rien ne peut faire cesser ; que sa Majesté Britannique ne lui permettroit jamais de venir ici, et que le Prince d'Orange avoit toujours envie d'y venir, et de se montrer aux Anglois.

Je dis à Milord Sunderland, que, par beaucoup de choses, on donnoit lieu de juger que le Roy d'Angleterre étoit fort adouci pour le Prince d'Orange, et que cela produisoit un assez méchant effet partout, parce que le Prince d'Orange agissoit toujours avec la même animosité contre les intérêts de la France ; que je comprenois assez que l'intérêt de sa Majesté

Britannique n'étoit pas de pousser le Prince d'Orange au point de le mettre du parti des rebelles, mais le trop de ménagement le mettoit en état d'être plus dangereux, et de pouvoir nuire d'avantage aux affaires; que pour moi, je ne me laissois pas séduire aux artifices des partisans de M. le Prince d'Orange, et que j'étois fort persuadé que le Roy d'Angleterre connoissoit trop bien son intérêt pour se séparer de ceux de V. M. et prendre des liaisons qui lui sont opposées, et que de ma part, je ferois mon possible pour bien éclaircir la vérité à V. M.

J'eus encore hier au soir une conversation avec le Roy d'Angleterre; il me pressa de rendre compte à votre Majesté de tout ce qu'il m'a dit, et me parut s'attendre que V. M. me donnera des ordres différents de ceux que j'ai, et qu'elle ne lui refusera pas un secours présent dans le temps qu'il en a tant de besoin. Il me dit que si V. M. avoit quelque chose à désirer de lui, il iroit au-devant de tout ce qui peut plaire à V. M.; mais que rien ne le pouvoit toucher plus sensiblement que de voir que V. M. eut de la confiance en lui, et ne crut pas qu'il voulut recevoir ses secours et son assistance, s'il n'étoit résolu de demeurer inviolablement attaché à ses intérêts; qu'il avoit été élevé en France, et mangé le pain de V. M.; que son cœur étoit François; qu'il ne songeoit qu'à se rendre digne de l'estime de V. M. et qu'elle ne se repentiroit pas de l'avoir assisté, et de lui avoir affermi la couronne sur la tête.

Je lui dis que je rendrois compte à V. M. de tout, le plus exactement qu'il me seroit possible; que le fonds de ses intentions m'étoit connu, et que V. M. avoit pour principal motif l'établissement de la religion Catholique; qu'en faisant voir clair sur cela à V. M. je ne doutois pas qu'elle n'entrât dans les mesures qu'il pouvoit attendre.

Le Roy d'Angleterre me dit qu'il avoit parlé plus clairement sur cela à Milord Sunderland, qu'aux autres ministres, que je pouvois en conférer avec lui. Il finit en me disant: " Je conjure le Roy votre maître de se fier à moi, et de ne croire pas que j'aie un autre but que celui que je vous ai dit, auquel je ne puis parvenir que par son secours et son assistance.

Voilà, Sire, ce qui s'est passé avec le Roy d'Angleterre et ses ministres, sur quoi il plaira à V. M. de me donner ses ordres; s'ils sont tels qu'on les espère ici, et que je puisse continuer les payements du subside, il dépendra

de V. M. d'entrer dans de plus grands engagements, et de jeter les fondements d'une liaison étroite qui puisse durer longtemps, et dans laquelle V. M. pourra trouver ses avantages, selon qu'elle l'estimera à-propos. Mais il me paroît que, pendant la négociation, il seroit nécessaire de continuer quelques payemens, à moins que V. M. ne se déterminât à donner tout le fonds qui est ici, ce qui combleroit de joie le Roy d'Angleterre, tant pour l'utilité présente qu'il en recevroit, que par la sûreté qu'il croiroit avoir de l'amitié de V. M. Je ne doute pas qu'en ce cas il ne prît toutes les résolutions qui pourroient être le plus avantageuses à la religion Catholique, et qu'il ne les exécutât ; mais outre cela il prendroit, autant que je le puis juger, tous les engagements que V. M. pourroit désirer sur les affaires du dehors. J'ai connu dans tout ce qui m'a été dit, qu'il seroit fort périlleux au Roy d'Angleterre d'être mal avec V. M., il le seroit encore plus qu'on ne s'en imagine ; et le parti opposé à la royauté en Angleterre est si nombreux, et les semences de division dans les esprits sont si fortes, que sans l'amitié de V. M., il seroit fort difficile que le Roy d'Angleterre eut un règne paisible et heureux. J'ai cru voir dans tout ce qui m'a été dit par ce Prince, une envie fort sincère d'être étroitement uni à V. M. : s'il avoit dessein de s'en séparer, il ne presseroit pas si vivement pour un secours présent, et se contenteroit de demeurer dans un état de bienséance avec V. M. sans désirer une ligue si étroite. Je crois aussi connoître en lui un dessein formé pour l'établissement de la religion Catholique, qui ne sera interrompu ni retardé, que lorsqu'il ne pourra surmonter les obstacles qui s'y rencontreront. Mais il travaillera tous les jours à en venir à bout ; c'est à quoi il voit bien que V. M. seule peut l'aider.

Le Parlement a témoigné beaucoup d'éloignement de consentir à tout ce qui auroit pu être tiré à conséquence en faveur des Catholiques ; leur premier mouvement a été de les poursuivre et d'exécuter les loix contre eux. Ils s'en sont départis, mais contre leur sentiment, et par un coup d'autorité qui ne réussiroit pas toujours. Le Bill de la restitution de Milord Stafford est demeuré dans la Chambre des Communes, sans être admis, parce que dans le préambule il y a eu des mots insérés qui semblent favoriser la religion Catholique ; cela seule a retardé cet acte de réhabilitation du Comte de Stafford dont tous sont d'accord à l'égard du fonds. Dans le dernier

Bill que la Chambre des Communes a résolu pour la sûreté de la personne du Roy d'Angleterre, il a été mis expressément qu'il seroit permis aux ministres de prêcher, et aux autres de parler contre le Papisme. La Reine en a marqué beaucoup d'animosité et d'aigreur; et le Roy d'Angleterre a mieux aimé que cet acte ne fut point passé, quoiqu'il contint beaucoup d'autres choses très-avantageuses pour le gouvernement. Cela même (autant que j'en puis juger) a avancé la séparation du Parlement.

Je fais ces remarques afin que V. M. observe que le Roy d'Angleterre n'a pas été en état ni en pouvoir d'établir l'exercice libre de la Religion Catholique. Il n'auroit pu le tenter sans s'exposer non seulement à un refus, mais à quelque chose de pire, c'est-à-dire, que cela auroit pu empêcher les secours d'argent qui lui ont été accordés par le Parlement. Cependant le Roy d'Angleterre fait, ce me semble, tout ce qui est en lui en faveur des Catholiques, leur accordant les principaux emplois de guerre, et mettant dans les charges subalternes tous ceux qui se présentent. Il est difficile d'exprimer combien on a trouvé à redire ici que Milord Dombarton ait été fait général de toutes les troupes en Ecosse, et que M. Talbot ait eu la direction sur toutes celles d'Irlande. On voit qu'insensiblement les Catholiques auront les armes à la main; c'est un état bien différent de l'oppression où ils étoient, et dont les Protestants zélés reçoivent une grande mortification: ils voyent bien que le Roy d'Angleterre fera le reste quand il le pourra. La levée des troupes, qui seront bientôt complètes, fait juger que le Roy d'Angleterre veut être en état de se faire obéir, et de n'être pas gêné par les loix qui se trouveront contraires à ce qu'il veut établir. Toutes ces vues ne s'accordent pas avec des liaisons opposées aux intérêts de V. M.

Je sais bien ce qui se dit dans les pays étrangers, et que le bruit y est fort répandu d'une réunion secrète entre le Roy d'Angleterre et le Prince d'Orange. J'ai toute l'application que je dois pour pénétrer ce qui se passe à cet égard; mais je n'ai rien connu qui aille au-delà de ce que le Roy d'Angleterre est obligé de faire pour ne pas jeter ouvertement le Prince d'Orange dans le parti de ses ennemis, ce qui ne seroit pas prudent dans la conjoncture présente. Il étoit naturel de retirer d'Hollande les troupes composées de sujets de sa Majesté Britannique, pour avoir un prompt secours.

M. d'Avaux m'a mandé, par sa dernière lettre, qu'on lui avoit donné avis que Skelton a demandé des troupes de l'Electeur de Brandebourg au Sieur Fuches. J'ai approfondi ce bruit, auquel il n'y a aucun fondement. C'est sans doute un artifice du Prince d'Orange pour faire croire à l'Electeur de Brandebourg, qu'il auroit inspiré au Roy d'Angleterre d'avoir recours a lui.

Je crois aussi peu de fondement à ce qu'on prétend qui a été dit à la Haye d'un mécontentement secret que le Roy d'Angleterre a contre la France, et qui éclatera en son temps. Si cela étoit, on ne le confieroit pas à un des commis de Milord Middleton : cela n'a aucune vraisemblance, et dans le temps qu'on l'a dit, le Roy d'Angleterre ne savoit pas que les payements seroient sursis, et étoit pleinement content de V. M.

Il est encore aussi peu apparent que Bentem ose parler au Roy d'Angleterre sur la religion Catholique. V. M. jugera si ce Prince se laissera ébranler sur cette matière, et si quelqu'un lui osera faire la proposition de changer de religion sans lui déplaire beaucoup. Le fond de la mission de Bentem a été apparemment pour obtenir la permission au Prince d'Orange de venir. Le Roy d'Angleterre m'a dit qu'il l'avoit refusé, et qu'il le refuseroit toujours. V. M. peut avoir des connoissances certaines de ce qui se passe partout ; mes vues sont bornées à ce qui se passe ici. Mais il paroît que la plûpart des choses qui se débitent en Hollande sont fausses, et qu'on y raisonne sur des fondements entièrement éloignés de la vérité.

Pour me renfermer dans le fait dont il est question présentement, je me tiendrai en état d'exécuter les ordres que V. M. me donnera : il me suffit d'avoir exposé à V. M. les choses comme elles me paroissent être en ce pays-ci. Il me reste à lui rendre un compte exact, autant que je le pourrai, de l'état de l'affaire de M. le Duc de Monmouth. On ne sait pas au vrai ce qu'il a de gens : on dit à Londres vingt mille hommes : je crois qu'il en a bien huit ou dix, dont il y en a six mille assez bien armés ; le reste ne l'est pas suffisamment pour un jour de combat. Il est constant que jusques à-présent ses forces se sont toujours augmentées ; et il semble que l'on n'ait pas agi contre lui avec la promptitude et la vigueur qui auroient été nécessaires pour finir d'abord une affaire dont les suites peuvent être dangereuses. Mais le petit nombre de troupes de sa Majesté Britannique n'a

pas été suffisant pour pouvoir d'abord tomber sur M. de Monmouth, et empêcher ses premiers progrès. Il auroit fallu dégarnir Londres, ce qui auroit été fort imprudent ; car les esprits sont en une telle disposition, que le moindre incident pourroit y causer de grands désordres. On y a fait arrêter plus de 200 personnes suspectes, parmi lesquelles il y a plusieurs riches marchands et d'autres gens riches et considérables. Cela cause une grande altération dans les esprits, et beaucoup d'interruption dans le commerce. Le peuple favorise secrètement M. de Monmouth, et cela éclateroit, s'il arrivoit une occasion qui leur permit de se pouvoir déclarer sans grand péril. Le Roy d'Angleterre connoit bien cela, et est fort résolu de ne point quitter Londres pour aucune considération.

Le bruit a couru depuis quelques jours, que Milord Delamer étoit allé en Chester Shire (c'est au-delà du pays de Galles), et qu'il avoit commencé d'y assembler des gens en faveur de M. de Monmouth. On a dit aussi, sur ce que Milord Grey de Stanford ne paroissoit plus, qu'il étoit allé faire la même chose dans le Nord. Je ne vois point encore de fondement solide à ces bruits ; mais il est certain que si on remuoit en quelque endroit d'Angleterre, l'affaire de M. de Monmouth deviendrait bien plus difficile, parce qu'il faudra séparer les troupes qu'a le Roy d'Angleterre ; car on ne peut faire aucun fond sur les milices, qui sont plutôt disposées à favoriser M. de Monmouth que le parti du Roy. Les nouvelles qu'on eut hier sont, que M. de Monmouth, après avoir pris et pillé la ville de Wells, est allé à Bridgewater, qu'il prétend fortifier ; c'est un poste où l'on dit qu'il peut subsister commodément, ayant derrière lui un pays fort abondant, et rempli de factieux : on dit même qu'il ne pourra être attaqué dans Bridgewater, qu'en séparant les troupes, et faisant des ponts de communication sur la rivière, qui est fort large en cet endroit. Cela demande du temps, et plus de troupes réglées que n'en a Milord Fergusson [Feversham] sous son commandement. Les trois régiments Ecossois sont passés dans Londres pour l'aller joindre. Le Sieur Lasnis aura dans peu de jours un régiment de 600 chevaux en état de marcher. Les trois régiments Anglois sont dans la rivière, et marcheront aussi vers l'armée. Tout cela ensemble pourra faire sept mille hommes dans douze ou quinze jours.

Jusques à-présent Milord Fergusson [Feversham] n'a pas été en état de

rien entreprendre de fort vigoureux contre M. de Monmouth. La perte des Royalistes a été plus grande qu'on ne l'a dit dans la rencontre arrivée à Philip's-Norton ; il y eut bien cent hommes tués ou blessés à l'endroit où le Duc de Grafton s'avança. Il est constant que le Duc de Monmouth subsiste avec facilité, et que les peuples lui fournissent des vivres plus volontiers qu'aux troupes de sa Majesté Britannique.

Le Comte d'Argile a été exécuté à Edinbourg, et a laissé une ample confession par écrit, dans laquelle il découvre tous ceux qui l'ont secouru d'argent, et qui ont aidé ses desseins : cela lui a sauvé la question. Le chevalier Cochrane et son fils, qui étoient les principaux complices du Comte d'Argile, ont été arrêtés dans une maison où ils s'étoient réfugiés. Il y a encore beaucoup de gens à Londres qui ne croient pas que Milord d'Argile soit pris.

Je suis, avec le profond respect que je dois, &c.

Le Roi à M. Barillon.

à Versailles, le 26 Juillet, 1685.

MONSIEUR BARILLON, j'ai reçu vos lettres du 16 et 19 de ce mois, et j'ai vu avec bien de la joie, par la dernière, que la rébellion du Duc de Monmouth a eu la même fin que celle du Comte d'Argile, ainsi que je vous l'avois prédit par toutes les lettres que je vous ai écrites sur ce sujet. Vous témoignerez au Roy d'Angleterre la part que je prends à la satisfaction qu'il a d'avoir entièrement dissipé par ses propres forces tout ce qui pouvoit troubler son règne, et rétabli en même temps ses revenus et son autorité à un plus haut point qu'aucun de ses prédécesseurs ne les a pu porter. Je m'assure aussi qu'il n'y aura plus personne dans son royaume qui ose s'élever contre lui, et qu'il jouira aussi longtemps que je le souhaite du plein repos qu'il s'est acquis. J'enverrai même incessamment M. le Maréchal d'Humières auprès de ce Prince, pour lui faire connoître plus particulièrement quels sont mes sentiments sur cet évènement, et vous lui en pouvez cependant parler en conformité de ce que je vous écris.

Tout le reste de votre première lettre ne contenant rien qui ne tende à

m'obliger de donner des secours d'argent au Roy, j'aurois cru que dans le bon état où sont à-présent ses affaires, il seroit assez inutile de vous faire savoir sur cela mes sentiments. Mais comme je vois par votre dernière que vous insistez encore à ce que je vous laisse un fonds pour les besoins qui peuvent survenir à la Cour où vous êtes, je ne puis m'empêcher de vous dire que j'ai été extrêmement surpris de voir qu'après vous avoir instruit de mes intentions par plusieurs de mes dépêches, vous n'avez pas entièrement désabusé les Ministres de la Cour où vous êtes de l'espérance qu'ils ont conçue avec si peu de raison, que, dans le temps que le Roy leur maître jouit d'un plus grand revenu qu'aucun de ses prédécesseurs, je voudrois encore épuiser mon épargne, et sacrifier, sans nécessité, le fonds que je ne m'étois ôté à moi-même que pour donner au dit Roy des preuves plus extraordinaires de mon amitié, au cas que le mauvais état de ses affaires l'eût obligé d'y avoir recours : elles sont, par la grace de Dieu, maintenant au point qu'il les pouvoit souhaiter, et ainsi je ne puis croire qu'on renouvelle dorénavant les mêmes instances. Mais si, contre mon opinion, on vous faisoit encore de semblables sollicitations vous pouvez déclarer nettement que je n'ai rien épargné pour vous donner moyen d'assister le Roy d'Angleterre, lorsque j'ai eu sujet d'appréhender que la religion Catholique dont il fait profession ne servit de prétexte aux factieux pour susciter de grands troubles dans son royaume et pour l'empêcher de jouir des revenus qui expiroient par la mort du feu Roy ; mais qu'après tant de satisfaction que son Parlement lui a donnée, la défaite entière de ses ennemis, ou plutôt de ses sujets rébellés (révoltés) et le rétablissement de son autorité à un si haut point, j'ai cru avec raison qu'il ne pouvoit avoir aucun besoin de mon assistance, et que je pouvois employer aux autres dépenses que j'ai à soutenir, le fonds que je lui avois destiné, sans qu'il fut moins persuadé de la sincérité de mon amitié ; que si néanmoins, contre toute apparence, et par quelque accident que je ne puis prévoir, il arrivoit qu'il eut un pressant besoin de mon assistance, il ne doit pas douter qu'il ne me trouve toujours aussi disposé que je lui ai témoigné, à lui donner des preuves effectives de la part que je prends à tout ce qui le touche.

Vous vous renfermerez à cette expression qui doit suffire pour faire cesser des demandes d'argent d'autant moins soutenables dans la conjoncture

présente, que la Cour où vous êtes sait bien que les conventions verbales que vous avez faites avec le feu Roy étoient expirées avant sa mort, et qu'encore que j'aie assez de raison de croire que s'il eut vecu d'avantage, il auroit été satisfait des subides que j'ai fait payer jusqu'à la fin de l'année dernière, sans en prétendre d'avantage, néanmoins je n'ai pas hésité à vous promettre de payer 500,000 livres, qu'on considère au lieu où vous êtes comme reste de subside, lorsque j'ai pu croire que le Roy d'Angleterre en avoit besoin. Enfin, vous voyez bien que mon intention est que vous ne laissiez à la Cour où vous êtes aucune espérance de tirer de vous le fonds qui est entre vos mains, et qu'au contraire vous devez le remettre incessamment en celles des banquiers, afin qu'ils le fassent repasser dans mon royaume par toutes les occasions qu'ils en auront.

Je m'assure que le dit Roy sera assez excité par sa reconnoissance envers la divine Providence des heureux succès qu'elle vient de lui donner, à rétablir dans son royaume l'exercice de la vraie religion que nous professons, et vous devez aussi aider ces bons mouvements avec douceur et adresse dans toutes les occasions que vous aurez.

Le Roy à M. Barillon.

à Versailles, Août, 1685.

MONSIEUR BARILLON j'ai reçu vos lettres des 23 et 26 Juillet, qui m'informent seulement de tout ce qui s'est passé dans l'exécution du Duc de Monmouth, et comme il ne faut pas douter que cet exemple ne retienne à l'avenir tous les sujets du Roy de la Grand Bretagne dans le devoir, et que, quand même le nombre des mécontents ne seroit pas diminué, il ne s'en trouvera plus qui ose s'en réndre le chef, et s'élever contre l'autorité royale, il sera facile au Roy d'Angleterre, et aussi utile à la sûreté de son règne qu'au repos de sa conscience, de rétablir l'exercice de la religion Catholique, qui engagera principalement tous ceux qui en font profession dans son royaume, à le servir bien plus fidèlement, et avec beaucoup plus de soumission qu'aucun autre de ses sujets ; au lieu que s'il laisse perdre une conjoncture aussi favorable qu'elle l'est à présent ; il ne trouvera peut-être jamais tant de disposition de toutes parts ou à concourir à ses desseins, ou

à souffrir qu'il les exécute. Vous devez néanmoins vous contenter d'aider le penchant qu'il y peut avoir, sans lui en faire des instances trop pressantes qui pourroient être plutôt capables de retarder cette résolution que de l'avancer.

Observez bien cependant, quelles sont les mesures qu'il prend avec le Prince d'Orange, et s'il ne se négocie pas quelque traité de nouvelle alliance entre le Roy et les Etats Généraux des Provinces Unies.

J'apprends aussi de plusieurs endroits que les Espagnols comptent beaucoup sur le penchant que ce Prince témoigne à favoriser leurs intérêts, et vous devez bien prendre garde au traitement qu'il fait à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, si ce dernier a de plus fréquents entretiens, ou avec le Roy ou avec ses Ministres, et s'il y a apparence à quelque renouvellement de traité entre l'Espagne et l'Angleterre.

Tâchez aussi d'être bien exactement informé du nombre de troupes et de vaisseaux que ce Prince prétend d'entretenir, et à quoi il les destine. Enfin, vous devez dans cette conjoncture-ci, renouveler votre attention à tout ce qui se passe au pays où vous êtes, et à m'en rendre un compte exact par toutes vos lettres.

Le Roy à M. Barillon.

à Versailles, le 24 Août, 1685.

M. BARILLON, vos lettres des 13 et 16 de ce mois m'informent de la résolution qu'a prise le Roy d'Angleterre de renouveler avec les Etats Généraux les traités d'alliance qu'ils avoient avec le feu Roy son frère, et de tout ce qu'il vous a dit sur ce sujet.

J'ai été d'autant plus surpris de la conclusion de cette affaire qu'il ne m'a pas paru, dans toutes vos lettres, qu'on vous en ait donné aucune part ; et je trouve que les ministres étrangers ont raison de ne le pas regarder comme une simple formalité, ainsi que la Cour où vous êtes veut vous le persuader. J'estime, au contraire, qu'elle jette par là le fondement d'une ligue qui peut donner courage à ceux qui ne peuvent souffrir le repos dont l'Europe jouit à-présent ; que les Etats Généraux, qui vouloient demeurer dans une

parfaite neutralité, ou plutôt le Prince d'Orange et le Pensionnaire Fagel, parlent à-présent d'un renouvellement d'alliance avec l'Empereur, le Roy d'Espagne, et celui de Suède ; que l'Electeur de Brandebourg est sur le point de conclure son traité avec eux, et que cette disposition où le Roy d'Angleterre témoigne être de renouveler les traités du feu Roy son frère, non seulement avec les Etats Généraux, mais même avec l'Espagne, faite dire aux ministres de cette couronne, que ce Prince est déjà entièrement dans leurs intérêts. On ajoute même d'autant plus de créance aux bruits qu'ils en répandent, qu'on sait que le feu Roy d'Angleterre n'étoit entré dans ces engagements que pendant la mésintelligence qu'il y a eu entre moi et lui, et que l'amitié n'a pas été plutôt rétablie par la convention verbale que vous avez faite par mon ordre, qu'il a bien fait voir qu'il ne se tenoit plus obligé à ces traités, et qu'il étoit bien éloigné de les vouloir renouveler. Ainsi je ne comprends point par quel motif le Roy d'Angleterre s'empresse si fort de rentrer dans le même embarras, principalement dans un temps où il voit bien que tous mes desseins tendent à la conservation de la paix, et qu'elle ne peut être troublée que par de semblables commencements de ligue, qui ne peuvent, en quelque manière que ce soit, convenir à ses intérêts. Vous en pouvez même encore parler dans ce sens, y ayant moins d'inconvénient de témoigner que je ne puis pas être satisfait de cette résolution, que de la confirmer par un espoir d'acquiescement de ma part ; et peut-être que quand le Roy d'Angleterre verra qu'il me donne par là un juste sujet de mécontentement, ou il ne s'empressera plus de donner la dernière perfection à ce traité, ou il y apportera tant de modifications et de changements, qu'on ne le pourra plus regarder en effet que comme une simple formalité. Mais s'il désire effectivement de conserver mon amitié, il n'entrera dans aucun autre engagement qui puisse y être contraire, soit directement ou indirectement.

J'apprends aussi que le Parlement d'Angleterre a fait une nouvelle et forte imposition sur les denrées et marchandises étrangères, qui entrent dans ce royaume. Vous ne manquerez pas de me faire savoir au plutôt si cette imposition est générale, ou si elle se réduit aux seules denrées et marchandises qui sont portées de mon royaume en Angleterre, et à combien elle se monte.

Continuez à m'informer le plus exactement qu'il vous sera possible de tout ce qui se passe de plus considérable au lieu où vous êtes.

Je suis surpris que vous ne fassiez aucune mention dans vos lettres du Comte de Sunderland, quoiqu'on ait ici plusieurs avis de son éloignement en Irlande en qualité de viceroy. Mandez-moi ce qui en est. Conservez ce qui vous reste de fonds entre les mains, sans en remettre aucune partie aux banquiers, jusqu'à ce que je vous aie donné de nouveaux ordres.

Le Roy à M. Barillon.

à Versailles, le 30 Août, 1685.

M. BARILLON quoique vos lettres des 20 et 23 de ce mois ne me parlent encore de la négociation qui se fait entre les commissaires du Roy d'Angleterre et les Ambassadeurs des États Généraux, que comme d'une disposition prochaine à un renouvellement de traité ; néanmoins les dernières lettres du Sieur d'Avaux du 24 m'assurent que celles des dits Ambassadeurs qui venoient d'arriver d'Angleterre à la Haye, portoient qu'ils venoient de conclure l'acte de renouvellement de ces dits traités ; et la déclaration que vous a faite le Comte de Sunderland, qu'on se garderoit bien de rien mettre dans le traité qui puisse engager le Roy d'Angleterre au-delà de ce que l'étoit le feu Roy son frère, est d'autant moins considérable, qu'on sait bien que le défunt Roy n'avoit contracté ces obligations, que dans le temps qu'il n'étoit pas en bonne intelligence avec moi, et que depuis qu'elle a été rétablie, il ne leur a point donné d'autres intreprétations que celles que je pouvois désirer ; au lieu que le Roy d'Angleterre à présent régnant, les renouvellant volontairement, et dans le temps que rien ne l'y oblige, les voudra exécuter à la lettre, et donnera moyen au Prince d'Orange d'en faire une ligue capable de troubler le repos de l'Europe. Quoiqu'il en soit, il n'est plus temps de faire des remontrances sur ce sujet, et vous ne devez plus les employer que pour empêcher le renouvellement d'un traité avec l'Espagne, ou avec quelqu'autre Prince ou Etat que ce puisse être.

Le Maréchal de Crequy est à-présent auprès de moi, et quelque bruit qui se répande à la Cour où vous êtes sur mes desseins, vous pouvez assurer

le Roy d'Angleterre qu'ils ne tendent qu'à affermir le repos que les derniers traités ont rétabli dans toute l'Europe.

Extrait d'une Lettre du Roi à M. Barillon.

à Chartres, 4 Septembre, 1685.

Cependant comme vous me faites entendre par l'un des articles de votre lettre, qu'il sera à mon pouvoir de renouveler avec ce Prince les mêmes liaisons que j'avois avec le feu Roy son frère, et de les rendre encore plus fermes et plus assurées, je vous dépêche ce courier pour vous avertir de bonne heure, que vous devez bien vous garder de vous engager dans aucune négociation sur ce sujet ; et que comme je vous ai assez fait connoître par toutes mes dépêches, et par celle ci, que je n'ai point d'autre dessein que de maintenir la paix dont toute l'Europe jouit à-présent, j'ai lieu de croire aussi que dans le florissant état où j'ai mis toutes les affaires de mon royaume, non seulement le Roy d'Angleterre, par l'intérêt qu'il a pareillement à la conservation de la tranquillité publique, mais aussi tous les autres Princes et Etats de l'Europe, seront bien aise qu'elle ne soit pas troublée, et qu'il n'y en aura point qui ose malgré moi renouveler une guerre qui ne tourneroit qu'à son domnage. Ainsi il n'est pas nécessaire de rentrer pour cet effet dans des liaisons avec l'Angleterre, qui ne se concluent jamais qu'à mes dépens, et même par des subsides capables de porter un grand préjudice aux affaires de mon royaume ; et toutes les fois qu'on vous fera de semblables propositions, vous devez seulement répondre, que je suis assez persuadé de l'amitié du Roy d'Angleterre, et qu'il a assez de sujet de faire un fondement certain sur la mienne, pour n'avoir pas besoin l'un et l'autre de nous en assurer par aucune traité.

Le Roy à M. Barillon.

à Chambord, le 13 Septembre, 1685.

MONSIEUR BARILLON, le compte que vous me rendez par votre lettre du 3^e. de l'entretien que vous avez eu avec le Roy d'Angleterre au sujet du

traité qu'il a renouvelé avec les Etats Généraux, ne m'oblige pas de vous donner d'autres ordres que ceux que vous avez reçus par mes précédentes dépêches, cest-à-dire, de ne plus témoigner de mécontentement de ce qui s'est passé, mais de profiter le plus adroitement qu'il vous sera possible de l'embarras où l'on vous a témoigné d'être d'avoir conclu cette affaire avec trop de précipitation, pour empêcher qu'on n'en fasse plus de semblables ni avec l'Espagne ni avec aucune autre Puissance.

Je suis bien aise d'apprendre que le Roy d'Angleterre ait découvert la nouvelle conspiration qui se formoit contre lui, et il me semble qu'elle doit servir à lui faire connoître qu'il s'en pourroit encore faire de semblables, si la crainte des liaisons qu'il a avec moi, ne retenoit ceux qui seroient, sans cette considération, bien plus hardis à entreprendre.

Extrait d'une Lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

10 Septembre, 1685, à Windsor.

LE Roy d'Angleterre m'a lu sur l'original la déposition du Sieur Mathieu, escuyer du Duc de Monmouth ; elle contient qu'il a su de M. de Monmouth que le Baron de Freize lui avoit parlé à la Haye de la part des Protestants de France, et lui avoit communiqué leur projet, qui étoit de prendre les armes au commencement de cet été, et de se révolter en plusieurs endroits de la France ; qu'ils offroient au Duc de Monmouth de le recevoir à leur tête ; que ce dessein a été communiqué à l'Electeur de Brandebourg, aux Princes de la Maison de Brunswick, et à M. le Prince d'Orange, qui tous l'ont approuvé ; que ce Baron de Freize a fait plusieurs voyages en France pour concerter avec les Protestants des diverses provinces. C'est tout ce que contient la déclaration, sans rien spécifier de particulier à l'égard des lieux ni des personnes avec qui ce Baron de Freize a traité. Il est Allemand, et a été autrefois à la cour de Saxe, dont il est sorti pour un démêlé qu'il eut avec le favori de l'Electeur de Saxe.

J'ai prié le Roy d'Angleterre de me dire s'il ne savoit rien d'avantage sur cette matière : sa réponse a été, qu'il ne savoit que ce qui est porté par

cette déclaration, et qu'il ne me cacheroit rien sur une matière de telle importance, s'il en avoit la moindre connoissance ; que je pouvois assurer V. M. que rien ne lui étoit si cher que ses intérêts, et qu'il ne laisseroit passer aucune occasion de lui donner des marques de son amitié. Je l'ai prié de presser encore les autres confidens de M. le Duc de Monmouth, et du Comte d'Argile, pour découvrir quelque chose de plus particulier que ce qui m'a été communiqué. Sa Majesté Britannique me l'a promis.

Extrait d'une Lettre du Roy à M. Barillon.

20 Septembre, 1685, à Chambord.

M. BARILLON, j'ai reçu vos lettres des 6 et 10 de ce mois, qui me font voir que la Cour où vous êtes ne témoigne jusqu'à-présent aucune disposition à conclure un traité avec l'Electeur de Brandebourg, ni à renouveler celui d'Espagne.

Vous devez aussi tâcher de maintenir toutes choses dans cet état, et détourner, autant qu'il vous sera possible, la Cour où vous êtes de toutes sortes d'engagemens qui pourroient altérer la bonne intelligence que je désire maintenir avec le Roy d'Angleterre. Mais il est bon aussi d'éloigner les propositions d'une plus étroite liaison avec moi, qui seroient d'autant plus inutiles, que le désir que j'ai de maintenir la paix s'accordant parfaitement avec les sentiments du dit Roy, il y a bien de l'apparence que nos intentions et nos intérêts se trouvant si conformes, rien ne sera capable d'altérer cette bonne union, et qu'elle s'entretiendra mieux d'elle-même que par tous les traités qu'on pourroit faire.

Le Roy d'Angleterre a raison de dire qu'il n'est ni de mon intérêt ni du sien que le commerce des Indes soit troublé, et cela n'arrivera pas aussi de mon consentement, tant que les Espagnols ne voudront faire sur ce sujet aucune nouveauté contraire à ce que portent les traités de paix et de trêve.

Ce que vous m'écrivez de la déposition du nommé Mathieu et trop général et trop vague pour découvrir par ce moyen quel pourroit être le chef et les complices des mouvemens qu'on prétendoit exciter dans mon royaume, sous le prétexte de la religion prétendue réformée.

Je suis bien aise d'apprendre que le Roy d'Angleterre dissipe de jour à autre les restes de la rébellion, et je m'assure que Milord Maxfield, ni aucun autre, n'osera rien entreprendre contre son autorité.

Je reçois encore présentement une lettre du 4, qui m'informe que vous vous étiez déjà conduit par avance, suivant les ordres que je vous ai donnés par ma dépêche du 4, et que vous demeuriez encore plus réservé sur les ouvertures qui vous pouvoient être faites de nouvelles liaisons.

Je n'ai rien à vous dire sur le choix que le Roy d'Angleterre a fait du Chevalier Trumbal pour remplir la place du Sieur Preston; mais il me paroît que la qualité de jurisconsulte Anglois n'est pas la plus convenable pour maintenir la bonne intelligence entre moi et le Roy d'Angleterre, et qu'elle ne sert souvent qu'à trouver des difficultés où il n'y en doit point avoir.

Pour ce qui regarde la demande qu'on vous fait de la part du Roy d'Angleterre du remboursement de quelques rentes sur Hôtel de Ville auquel il a intérêt, je me ferai informer par le Sieur Courtin de l'état de cette affaire, et je vous ferai savoir ensuite ma résolution.

Extrait d'une Lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

17 Septembre, 1685, à Windsor.

LE Prince de Moubach est ici de la part de M. l'Electeur de Cologne : il m'a dit qu'il avoit ordre de se conduire en tout comme je lui dirois. Il m'a rendu compte d'un entretien qu'il a eu avec le Comte de Toun, dans lequel ce Ministre s'est expliqué sur les dispositions favorables auxquelles il croit qu'est le Roy d'Angleterre pour la Maison d'Autriche, et qu'il y avoit lieu d'espérer que tout se réuniroit pour empêcher la grandeur immense de la France de s'augmenter encore; que le Roy d'Angleterre connoissoit bien la nécessité qu'il y a d'établir une paix ferme et durable, et plus équitable que n'est la trêve, dans laquelle la France a donné la loi, et a trouvé toute sorte de facilité à se maintenir dans ses usurpations. Le Comte de Toun a paru rempli des espérances de l'avenir; il lui est pourtant échappé de dire que le Roy d'Angleterre s'étoit expliqué avec chaleur sur la continuation de la trêve, il y a quelques jours, et avoit dit, que si

les Espagnols étoient assez imprudens pour rompre la trêve, et commencer la guerre, il se déclareroit contre eux, et se joindroit ouvertement à la France. Le Comte de Toun a paru choqué de ce discours du Roy d'Angleterre, qui marque peu de disposition de sa part à entrer dans les projets de la Maison d'Autriche.

Je rends compte à V. M. de ce détail, qui peut servir à lui faire connoître que les espérances dont ces Ministres Autrichiens se flattent sur le sujet du Roy d'Angleterre n'ont pas tout le fondement qu'ils veulent faire croire.

Les Ambassadeurs d'Hollande parlent de s'en retourner aussitôt après que les ratifications qu'on attend de Hollande auront été échangées.

Le Sieur Skelton a écrit que le Sieur Fuches l'avoit prié d'écrire au Roy son maître pour l'exhorter d'entrer dans le traité qu'il a fait avec les Etats: il ne paroît pas qu'on y ait ici aucune disposition.

Le Roy d'Angleterre tient souvent des discours tout haut, qui marquent combien il croit les Princes et Calvinistes opposés à ses intérêts, et ennemis, en général, de toute royauté, et principalement d'une royauté en Angleterre. Ces discours faits en public déplaisent fort aux Ambassadeurs d'Hollande, qui savent bien que c'est des peuples de Hollande dont sa Majesté Britannique entend parler.

Extrait d'une Lettre du Roy à M. Barillon.

28 Octobre, 1685, à Fontainebleau.

JE m'assure que la séance du Parlement qui est convoquée au 19 Novembre, ne sera pas moins avantageuse au Roy d'Angleterre que la précédente ; et il y a lieu de croire que s'il n'en étoit pas bien persuadé, il se garderoit bien d'assembler si souvent un corps qui partage avec lui l'autorité souveraine. Je n'aurai point d'autre ordre à vous donner sur ce sujet que de bien observer tout ce qui s'y passera pour m'en rendre compte.

—— à M. Barillon.

1 Novembre, 1685, à Fontainebleau.

J'AI fait voir au Roy, Monsieur, la lettre que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire par la quelle vous me mandez que, depuis la mort du feu Roy d'Angleterre, vous avez payé au Roy à-présent régnant la somme de huit cent mille livres, et qu'il ne vous reste entre les mains que celle de *quatre cent quatre vingt mille livres*, sur laquelle vous devez retenir *deux cent mille livres*, d'une part, et *soixante deux mille livres* d'autre; mais comme sa Majesté croit que le pouvoir qu'elle vous a donné par ses dépêches, à toujours été restraints au seul payement des subsidès que vous aviez promis verbalement, en son nom, au feu Roy, et dont il n'étoit du à sa mort que *quatre cent soixante dix mille livres*, elle m'a ordonné de vérifier, dans toutes ses dépêches s'il y en auroit quelqu'une qui vous permit de faire cette avance de *trois cent trente mille livres* de plus; et comme je n'en trouve point dans toutes celles que j'ai ici, je vous prie, Monsieur, de m'éclairer plus particulièrement là-dessus, et de m'envoyer même l'extrait de la dépêche de sa Majesté qui vous donne ce pouvoir. Je suis, Monsieur, &c. &c.

Extrait d'une Lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

29 Octobre, 1685, à Londres.

IL [le Roy d'Angleterre] me mena hier matin dans son cabinet, et me dit qu'il avoit plusieurs choses à me dire pour les faire savoir à V. M. ne voulant rien faire d'important et de conséquence dont il ne lui fit part; que la première étoit la résolution qu'il avoit prise de ne pas laisser plus longtemps Milord Halifax dans le ministère, et qu'il lui oteroit sa place de Président du Conseil; que je savois que, dès le temps du feu Roy son frère, il avoit eu mauvaise opinion de ses sentiments, et de sa conduite, et ne l'avoit pas cru assez attaché à la royauté; que, depuis son avènement à la couronne, il avoit essayé de lui inspirer de meilleurs sentiments, et l'obliger à tenir des maximes conformes à celles que doit avoir le ministre d'un Roy,

et même celles d'un bon sujet ; qu'il avoit vu que le fonds de Milord Halifax ne se pouvoit changer, et qu'ainsi sa résolution étoit prise de ne s'en plus servir, que l'on avoit voulu le détourner de faire cet éclat avant l'assemblée du Parlement, et de se servir plutôt de Milord Halifax dans cette Assemblée pour obtenir plus aisément les choses qu'il désiroit ; mais que c'étoit par cette même raison qu'il vouloit le chasser de son conseil ; que son exemple pouvoit gâter beaucoup de gens, et fortifier le parti de ceux qui lui voudroient résister ; qu'il connoissoit les inconvénients d'un conseil partagé, et de souffrir que ses ministres eussent des sentiments opposés aux siens ; que le feu Roy son frère s'en étoit mal trouvé, et qu'il tiendrait une conduite différente. Il ajouta, que son dessein étoit de faire révoquer par le Parlement l'acte du *Test*, et l'acte de l'*Habeas Corpus*, dont l'un est la destruction de la religion Catholique, et l'autre de l'autorité royale ; qu'il espère en venir à bout, que Milord Halifax n'auroit pas eu le courage et la fermeté de soutenir le bon parti, et qu'il feroit moins de mal, n'ayant plus de part aux affaires, et étant disgracié.

Sa Majesté Britannique me parla encore d'une autre résolution qui doit paroître avant l'assemblée du Parlement, c'est celle d'envoyer un Ambassadeur extraordinaire à Rome, jugeant qu'il est de sa dignité, étant Catholique, de faire ce que les Rois ont accoutumé à l'égard du St. Siege.

Je remerciai le Roy d'Angleterre de tout ce qu'il m'avoit fait l'honneur de me communiquer. Je lui dis que j'en rendrois compte à V. M. et que j'osois lui répondre par avance que V. M. approuveroit entièrement ses résolutions, et auroit beaucoup de joie de le voir en état d'entreprendre des choses si importantes pour l'avantage de la religion Catholique, et pour l'affermissement de son autorité. Sa Majesté Britannique me dit en riant ; " Je ne pense pas que le Roy votre maître soit fâché que j'éloigne Milord Halifax de mes conseils. Je sais bien du moins que les ministres des confédérés en seront mortifiés, et qu'ils avoient une grande opinion de son crédit."

Je répondis à cela que j'avois agi de concert avec lui du temps du feu Roy son frère, pour ôter du ministère Milord Halifax ; mais que je n'avois pas cru qu'il eut le moindre crédit depuis sa mort ; que je convenois cependant que son éloignement des affaires produiroit un bon effet en Angleterre, et

dans les pays étrangers pour détruire l'opinion que les ministres de la Maison d'Autriche tâchent d'y établir, que la bonne intelligence et l'amitié sont fort diminuées entre V. M. et lui ; que je savois même que les Ambassadeurs d'Hollande étoient partis depuis deux jours fort persuadés que Milord Halifax étoit un des ministres les plus accrédités, et sur l'amitié du quel le Prince d'Orange pouvoit faire le plus de fondement. J'ai dit ceci pour voir si le Roy d'Angleterre me parleroit d'une affaire qui regarde le dedans de la maison du Prince d'Orange, qui n'a pas encore éclaté, mais qui sera bientôt publique : il ne m'en parla point, et je ne jugeai pas lui en devoir parler le premier.

Le Prince d'Orange a découvert que le ministre de la Princesse d'Orange, sa nourrice, et une femme de chambre qu'elle aime fort, étoient en commerce avec Skelton, et l'avertissoient de tout ce qui venoit à leur connoissance de plus secret. Cela a été su du Prince d'Orange par une lettre qui a passé par les mains de Dalonne, secrétaire de la Princesse d'Orange. Le Prince d'Orange a pris cette affaire avec tant d'aigreur, qu'il a chassé le ministre, la nourrice, et la femme de chambre, et les a renvoyés à la Haye : je ne sais même s'ils ne sont point déjà partis pour l'Angleterre. Le Roy d'Angleterre me paroît, de son côté, fort aigri, et croit que le Prince d'Orange marque clairement sa mauvaise volonté à son égard, d'être si troublé que son ministre ait connoissance de ce qui se passe dans la maison de sa fille et de son gendre.

Je n'ai pas pressé le Roy d'Angleterre de me dire le nom de l'Ambassadeur qu'il envoie à Rome, afin de lui laisser toute la facilité de s'expliquer avec moi en confiance, sans lui faire croire que je veuille savoir plus qu'il n'a envie de me dire ; mais j'ai su d'ailleurs que c'étoit le Comte de Castelmaine, mari de Madame la Duchesse de Cleveland. Je ne doute pas que V. M. ne fasse la même réflexion que je sais avoir été faite par ceux qui ont appris ce choix. Il semble d'abord qu'il y ait quelque ridicule à envoyer un homme si peu connu par lui même, et si connu par Madame de Cleveland. Le Roy d'Angleterre ne s'est point arrêté à cela ; et l'a choisi parce que les Catholiques ont une grande confiance en lui, qu'il a fait plusieurs voyages en Italie, qu'il le croit fort habile et fort zélé Catholique, &c.

Je suis, &c.

Extrait d'une Lettre du Roy à M. Barillon.

6 Novembre, 1685, à Fontainebleau.

L [le Roy d'Angleterre] a raison de croire que Milord Halifax n'ayant aucune religion, ne peut pas être un ministre fort fidèle et fort affectionné au maintien de l'autorité royale.

Le dit Roy ne peut employer plus utilement pour lui ses soins et son pouvoir, qu'à faire révoquer par le Parlement, l'Acte qu'ils appellent du *Test*, qui oblige ses sujets de faire des serments si horribles, et si contraires à ce qu'on doit à Dieu et même à la royauté.

Il n'est pas moins important aussi pour la maintenir de l'ôter de l'embarras que lui donne ce second acte que vous appelez *Habeas Corpus*, et j'apprendrai toujours avec plaisir qu'il ait réussi dans ces deux projets.

J'avois déjà appris l'éloignement des domestiques de la Princesse d'Orange ; et j'ai bien cru que le Roy d'Angleterre n'agrèeroit pas qu'on leur fit un crime de l'informer par son ministre des nouvelles de la santé de sa fille, et de l'état de ses affaires.

M. Barillon au Roy.

5 Novembre, 1685, à Londres.

ON fait beaucoup de différentes réflexions sur la disgrâce de Milord Halifax. Il a déclaré à ses amis qu'il n'auroit pas voulu s'engager à soutenir les desseins que sa Majesté Britannique a pour le prochain Parlement, et qu'il avoit mieux aimé se retirer de la cour, que de demeurer à condition de se déclarer ouvertement pour tout ce que l'on entreprendra de faire en faveur des Catholiques, et pour l'augmentation de l'autorité royale. Beaucoup de gens disent que le Roy d'Angleterre auroit mieux fait d'engager insensiblement Milord d'Halifax à seconder ses desseins, et à s'en servir pour ménager dans le Parlement ce qu'il en voudra obtenir, que de le disgracier seulement parce qu'il ne veut pas entrer dans des mesures opposées aux lois établies, et à tout ce que les Anglois ont le plus avant

enraciné dans le cœur : mais sa Majesté Britannique raisonne fort différemment, et croit que rien ne seroit si dangereux pour le bien de ses affaires, que de conserver un ministre qui a des sentiments et des principes opposés aux siens, et qu'il est même à-propos qu'on connoisse, que le seul moyen d'être bien à la cour, est de conserver ses bonnes grâces, est de suivre aveuglément ses volontés, et d'avoir un attachement à ses intérêts qui ne soit sujet à aucune interprétation ni réserve.

Cet incident est regardé aussi avec beaucoup d'attention des ministres étrangers : ceux qui sont ici les mieux informés ne croyoient pas que Milord Halifax eut un grand crédit ; mais la plupart s'imaginoient que son crédit augmenteroit à mesure que le Roy d'Angleterre entreroit dans des mesures opposées à celles que le feu Roy son frère et lui, ont tenues jusques à-présent. Milord Halifax prenoit grand soin de flatter les espérances de ceux qu'il connoissoit désirer que sa Majesté Britannique s'unît étroitement avec le Prince d'Orange, et se relachât un peu d'une liaison trop étroite avec V. M. On prétendoit étendre cela dans la suite à une entière séparation de vos intérêts et des siens. Ce projet étoit soutenu par Milord Halifax, qui croyoit bien que, tant que V. M. et le Roy son maître seroient en bonne intelligence, il n'auroit pas une grande part dans sa confiance ; mais que venant à s'altérer, les autres ministres perdroient quelque chose de leur crédit, et que le sien augmenteroit. Les Ambassadeurs d'Espagne et d'Hollande l'ont regardé comme leur principal conseil depuis quelques années, et aidoient à fortifier le bruit répandu dans les pays étrangers, que Milord Halifax avoit beaucoup de part aux résolutions qui se prenoient. Le secrétaire du Comte de Toun qui est demeuré ici avec la qualité de secrétaire de l'Empereur, ne s'est pu retenir de dire à plusieurs personnes, qu'il étoit fort étrange que le Roy d'Angleterre chassât Milord Halifax de son conseil, après l'obligation qu'il lui avoit d'avoir soutenu avec tant de force son parti, ou plutôt son droit, dans le Parlement, lorsqu'il étoit question de l'exclusion.

Ce discours est revenu au Roy, qui l'a trouvé fort à redire. La vérité est, que Milord Halifax, pour entrer dans la confiance du feu Roy d'Angleterre, soutint fortement la succession contre Milord Schafbery, et se trouva lors à la tête de ceux qui s'opposèrent dans la Chambre Haute au Bill d'Exclu-

sion contre M. le Duc d'York, qui avoit déjà passé dans la Chambre Basse : mais dès le lendemain que ce Bill d'Exclusion fut rejeté, Milord Halifax proposa des tempéraments contre le Duc d'York, plus ruineux pour lui que l'Exclusion. Le principal étoit un bannissement perpétuel pendant la vie du feu Roy, et de si grandes restrictions à son autorité, en cas qu'il vint à la couronne, que l'on jugea ces conditions plus dangereuses et moins admissibles que l'exclusion. Depuis cela, Milord Halifax s'est toujours déclaré ouvertement contre M. le Duc d'York, et s'est opposé à tout ce qui a été de ses avantages.

On m'a assuré que la Reine Douairière ne conservera pas à Milord Halifax la charge qu'il a de son Chancelier, et lui-même ne juge pas la pouvoir garder : il est pourtant assez bien adprès d'elle, et a fait donner la charge de Trésorier de sa Maison au Sieur Tin, son cousin.

A-présent que l'assemblée du Parlement approche, on commence à parler dans Londres des matières qui seront agitées dans cette assemblée : il est encore difficile de juger quel en sera le succès ; car quoique le plus grand nombre des députés paroissent bien intentionnés pour sa Majesté Britannique, les Actes du *Test*, et d'*Habeas Corpus* sont regardés par tous les Anglois comme les remparts de la religion Protestante, et des privilèges de la nation. Le Roy d'Angleterre espère venir à bout de les faire révoquer ; autrement ce seroit une imprudence de l'entreprendre, et de se trouver obligé de séparer le Parlement, sans en avoir obtenu ce qu'il croit nécessaire pour l'affermissement de son autorité. Le rétablissement des Pairs Catholiques sera une suite de la révocation du *Test*, et aussi la confirmation des officiers de guerre, et de la Maison qui sont Catholiques. Tout cela est regardé comme très-important, et presque tous les Anglois voient avec grande douleur que l'autorité royale prend tous les jours de nouvelles forces, et que les loix établies contre la religion Catholique ne pourront s'établir sous le règne d'un Roy qui en fait une profession ouverte.

L'évêque que le Pape a envoyé ici est arrivé ; il n'y fera point encore de fonction publique ; mais son arrivée n'est pas secrète. Le Roy d'Angleterre me paroît fort content de lui. Tous les ecclésiastiques séculiers d'Angleterre sont soumis à sa direction. Son titre est *in partibus*.

Milord Peston est Chancelier de la Reine Douairière à la place de Milord

Halifax. La charge de Chambellan, vacante par la mort du Comte d'Ailesbury, a été donnée au Comte de Mangraf [Mulgrave]; et la charge de Gentilhomme de la Chambre, qu'avoit Milord Mangraf, à Milord Brousse, qui est à-présent Comte d'Ailesbury par la mort de son père.

Le Sieur Corniche a été exécuté, et une femme nomme Gaunt, âgée de soixante ans, brulée pour avoir retiré des rebelles chez elle.

J'envoye à votre Majesté la copie du Mémoire qui a été donné à Milord Sunderland par l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne. Je suis, &c.

Le Roy à M. Barillon.

16 Novembre, 1685.

M. BARILLON, votre lettre du 5 de ce mois m'informe des différents raisonnements qu'on fait au lieu où vous êtes sur la disgrâce de Milord Halifax: mais quelque effet qu'elle puisse produire, vous jugez bien qu'il ne peut être que fort-avantageux à mes intérêts qu'un ministre si dévoué à ceux d'Espagne, et si contraire à la religion Catholique, soit éloigné des conseils du Roy d'Angleterre, et je m'assure aussi que cet acte de fermeté augmentera encore l'autorité du dit Roy, et rendra même l'assemblée du Parlement plus soumise à ce qu'il désirera d'elle. Je laisse à votre prudence à l'informer de mes sentiments sur ce sujet, si vous le jugez à-propos.

Quelque répugnance que puissent avoir les Anglois à souffrir quelque changement dans les deux points qu'ils croient être si essentiels à la conservation, tant de la religion Protestante, que de leurs droits et privilèges, ils sont néanmoins d'ailleurs d'une si grande conséquence pour le succès des desseins que le dit Roy a formés, qu'il a grande raison d'employer toute son autorité à les obtenir. Il y a d'autant plus d'apparence aussi qu'il y réussira que l'état paisible où est aujourd'hui toute l'Europe, ne laisse envisager aux factieux aucune ressources ni désirer aux bien intentionnés une conjoncture plus favorable.

Le mémoire que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne a remis entre les mains du Comte de Sunderland, ne regarde que ce qui est dû à des particuliers par les Etats de Haynault, et n'est pas capable de produire de nouveaux troubles.

Mais les continuelles contraventions que les Espagnols font au traité de trêve, par les prises et enlèvement des vaisseaux de mes sujets, pourroient leur attirer de plus fâcheuses suites, s'ils ne rendent au-plutôt ce qu'ils ont pris.

Je reçois encore présentement votre lettre du 8, avec le mémoire des payements que vous avez faits depuis la mort du feu Roy d'Angleterre ; et après que j'aurai fait examiner s'il se rapporte au compte que vous avez ci-devant envoyé des payements faits par vos ordres jusqu'à la mort du feu Roy d'Angleterre, je vous serai savoir mes sentiments sur cet article.

J'apprends de toutes parts que le Roy d'Angleterre témoigne une grande disposition à entrer dans toutes sortes d'engagements contraires à mes intérêts. L'on me confirme encore l'avis que je vous ai déjà donné que le Roy Catholique envoie à son Ambassadeur en Angleterre le pouvoir de conclure une ligue avec la Cour où vous êtes, sur les assurances que ce ministre a données qu'il y trouveroit dans la conjoncture présente de très-grandes facilités. Vous devez néanmoins témoigner au Roy d'Angleterre que je suis persuadé qu'il rejettera si loin les propositions de ligue que ce ministre pourroit faire, que la Cour d'Espagne sera bientôt désabusée de l'espérance qu'elle a eue d'un bon succès dans cette affaire.

Il me paroît par tout ce que vous m'écrivez que le Roy d'Angleterre n'a pas sujet d'être content du Prince d'Orange ; et il est à souhaiter, pour le maintien de la paix, et pour le bien de notre religion, qu'il n'y ait pas entre eux une plus grande intelligence.

Extrait d'une Lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

12 Novembre, 1685, à Londres.

LE Roy d'Angleterre m'a dit qu'il en étoit persuadé et fort aise [*il s'agit ici du désir que témoignoit et qu'avoit Louis XIV. d'affermir le repos dont jouissoit alors l'Europe*], que je voyois combien il lui importoit qu'il n'arrivât pas de rupture entre V. M. et le Roy d'Espagne, et que je savois quels avantages cela donneroit à ceux qui veulent traverser ses desseins à l'égard de la religion Catholique.

Le Chevalier Trumball est parti pour France. Le Roy d'Angleterre

m'a dit qu'il lui avoit donné des instructions et des ordres précis d'apporter tous ses soins pour la continuation d'une bonne intelligence avec V. M. J'ai prié sa Majesté Britannique de lui ordonner sur tout de ne se point mêler des affaires qui regardent ceux de la religion prétendue réformée ; je ne doute pas que cela n'ait été fait ; et autant que j'en puis juger sur ce que m'a dit le Sieur Trumball, il se conduira d'une manière dont V. M. aura sujet d'être satisfaite.

Tous les projets et les plans se forment à l'égard du Parlement. Il est certain qu'on y agitera des matières fort importantes : on ne sauroit encore juger de l'évènement. Le Roy d'Angleterre espère venir à bout de la plûpart des choses qu'il demandera, et il paroît résolu de ne se point relâcher de ce qu'il désire obtenir pour l'avantage des Catholiques, et pour l'affermissement de son autorité. La défiance est grande dans le parti des Protestants zélés : ils connoissent bien que de ce qui se passera dans cette session, dépend à l'avenir la sûreté de la religion Protestante. Les Catholiques ne sont pas tout-à-fait d'accord entre eux : les plus habiles, et ceux qui ont le plus de part à la confiance du Roy d'Angleterre, connoissent bien que la conjoncture est la plus favorable qu'on puisse espérer, et que si on la laisse échapper, elle pourra bien n'être de si longtemps si avantageuse. Les Jésuites sont de ce sentiment, qui sans doute est le plus raisonnable ; mais les Catholiques riches et établis craignent l'avenir, et appréhendent un retour qui les ruineroit ; ainsi ils voudroient admettre tous les tempéraments possibles, et se contenteroient des plus médiocres avantages qu'on leur voudroit accorder, comme seroit la révocation des loix pénales, sans s'attacher à la révocation du *Test* qui rend les Catholiques incapables des charges et des emplois.

Cet parti est soutenu de tous les gens qui favorisent secrètement le Prince d'Orange, et leur avis prévaudroit, si les autres ne prennoient tous les soins possibles pour faire comprendre au Roy d'Angleterre que s'il ne se sert de l'occasion, et qu'il n'établisse présentement ce qu'il a dessein de faire pour les Catholiques et pour lui-même, il verra tous les jours naître de plus grands obstacles à ses desseins. Le naturel du Roy d'Angleterre le porte à tenir une conduite ferme et vigoureuse. Ceux de ses ministres qui sont dans les mêmes sentiments paroissent augmenter de crédit ; l'exemple de

Milord Halifax fait craindre ceux qui voudroient tenir une conduite modérée, et garder des tempéraments. Tout cela forme beaucoup de cabales dans la Cour et dans le Parlement. Le Roy d'Angleterre me parle souvent de ce qu'il veut faire, et me paroît fort résolu de se prévaloir de la conjoncture présente. Il me dit toujours que la paix au-dehors lui est entièrement nécessaire, et me charge de représenter cela à votre Majesté, comme une chose décisive pour les avantages de la religion Catholique. Je me tiens dans les bornes que V. M. m'a prescrites, et sans m'ingérer de lui rien inspirer de trop véhément, je fortifie la résolution où il paroît être de profiter de l'occasion. Je serai appliqué à pénétrer ce qui se passe, et à rendre compte à V. M. le plus exactement que je pourrai. Il n'y a point eu de séance du Parlement depuis longtemps plus importante. Je prévois même qu'il se traitera beaucoup de choses sur l'avenir à quoi on ne s'attendoit pas. Je n'omettrai aucun soin pour être bien informé. Je suis, &c.

Extrait d'une Lettre du Roy à M. Barillon.

à Versailles, le 19 Novembre, 1685.

J'APPRENDS cependant par les dernières lettres de Madrid, que ce qui éloigne le Conseil d'Espagne de faire raison sur les justes plaintes de mes sujets, est l'espérance dont les Ministres Espagnols se flattent, d'attirer bientôt le Roy d'Angleterre dans les intérêts de la Maison d'Autriche, et de faire avec lui un traité d'association. On ajoute même qu'ils croient que ce Prince ne diffère à y entrer que jusqu'à ce qu'il ait obtenu de son Parlement ce qu'il a résolu de lui demander dans la prochaine assemblée. C'est ce qui vous doit obliger à renouveler vos soins et votre application à bien pénétrer les véritables desseins de la Cour où vous êtes, et examiner tous les partis qu'il y auroit à prendre, en cas de changement, pour le bien de mon service: car comme je serai toujours bien aise de contribuer au bon succès des desseins du Roy d'Angleterre, tant qu'il ne tendront qu'à l'augmentation de notre religion, à l'affermissement du repos public, et à celui de son autorité; je dois vous dire aussi, pour votre instruction

particulière, que je ne serai pas fâché qu'il trouve dans son Parlement des obstacles à ses projets, quand je reconnoîtrai qu'il voudra prendre des mesures avec mes ennemis, pour par là leur donner la hardiesse de troubler la paix que j'ai rétablie par les derniers traités. Ainsi vous devez bien observer qu'elle est la disposition des esprits des principaux membres du Parlement, et quel est le penchant de ceux qui auront le plus de crédit dans cette assemblée, ensorte que, sans donner aucun prétexte au Roy d'Angleterre de se détacher des sentiments de reconnaissance qu'il croit devoir aux témoignages d'amitié que je lui ai donnés avant et depuis son avènement à la couronne, vous puissiez, s'il s'en éloigne, laisser entrevoir aux Parlementaires les plus attachés à la conservation de leurs droits et privilèges, que les liaisons que j'ai avec le Roy leur maître ne sont pas assez fortes pour leur nuire, et qu'ils peuvent agir avec liberté, et sans craindre ma puissance. Mais comme vous jugez bien qu'il importe extrêmement au bien de mon service que votre conduite soit si mesurée, si sage, et si prudente, qu'elle ne puisse donner aucune prise contre vous, vous devez, sur toutes choses, vous appliquer à connoître le terrain, avant que de faire aucune tentative qui puisse nuire à mes intérêts. Même vous ne devez faire aucune démarche dans une négociation si délicate et si dangereuse, qu'après que vous m'aurez donné avis de ce que vous aurez reconnu des intentions de la Cour où vous êtes, et que je vous aurai donné de nouveaux ordres. Il est bon, cependant, que vous vous serviez de toutes les occasions qui se présenteront, pour insinuer adroitement au Roy d'Angleterre l'intérêt qu'il a d'employer son autorité au rétablissement de la religion Catholique, et de ne la pas laisser plus longtemps exposée à toutes les loix pénales qui ont été faites contre elle dans les règnes précédents.

Extrait d'une Lettre du Roy à M. Barillon.

à Versailles, le 29 Novembre, 1685.

MONSIEUR BARILLON, j'ai reçu votre lettre du 19 de ce mois, avec la copie du discours que le Roy d'Angleterre a fait à son Parlement, tant pour l'obliger à lui fournir le fonds nécessaire pour le payement des troupes

qu'il prétend en obtenir, que pour l'informer des raisons qu'il a de conserver les officiers qui l'ont fidèlement servi dans la dernière rébellion.

Je m'assure qu'il n'aura pas de peine à obtenir ce secours de cette assemblée : elle croira avec raison avoir beaucoup gagné, s'il n'entreprend rien en faveur de la religion Catholique, et qu'il la laisse dans le déplorable état où elle est encore à-présent, sujette aux loix pénales, et à tout ce que la fureur et les emportements de ses plus grands ennemis pourroient attenter contre elle dans une conjoncture plus favorable pour eux. Je suis bien persuadé aussi que ce Prince connoît assez l'intérêt qu'il a de la rétablir, et que d'ailleurs il a tout le zèle qu'on peut désirer pour ne pas manquer d'en procurer ses avantages ; et comme vous savez bien mes intentions sur la conduite que vous devez tenir pendant la séance de ce Parlement, je ne doute point que vous ne les suiviez aussi exactement qu'il vous sera possible, et que vous ne m'informiez de tout ce qui se passera dans les délibérations des deux Chambres, et des mesures que le Roy d'Angleterre prendra pour parvenir à ses fins.

Extrait d'une Lettre de M. Barillon au Roy.

22 Novembre, 1685, à Londres.

ON dit que Milord Grey a déposé que plusieurs Seigneurs devoient se joindre à M. de Monmouth, entre autres Milord Devincher ; il est gendre du Duc d'Ormond, et le plus grand Seigneur d'Angleterre en fonds de terre. Beaucoup de gens prennent intérêt à ce qui le regarde, et s'entremettent pour le recommander ; mais il ne s'aide pas lui-même autant qu'il faudroit. Cela commence à causer les agitations ordinaires en ce pays-ci lorsque le Parlement est assemblé.

M. Barillon au Roy

26 Novembre, 1685, à Londres.

Je reçus avant hier la dépêche de votre Majesté du 19 Novembre, par un courrier exprès ; avant que d'y répondre, je crois devoir rendre compte à

V. M. de ce qui s'est passé ici depuis le dernier ordinaire. La délibération de la Chambre des Communes du 22. Novembre fut pleine de chaleur et de contestation. Les partisans de la Cour obtinrent pourtant une résolution de donner un secours d'argent. Ceux du parti opposé avoient eu l'adresse d'ajouter à la proposition de donner de l'argent, que ce secours seroit pour entretenir l'armée, ce qui auroit fait rejeter la proposition par le plus grand nombre de voix. Mais le *Speaker*, et quelques autres, firent mettre simplement la question de donner de l'argent, sans spécifier à quel usage : il passa de quelques voix, mais en même temps, la Chambre prit la résolution de représenter à sa Majesté Britannique, que la véritable force du royaume consiste dans les milices, et qu'elle apportera tous les soins, et prendra tous les expédiens possibles, pour les rendre utiles : c'étoit déclarer nettement que la Chambre ne prétend pas que l'armée subsiste. Beaucoup de gens parlèrent avec véhémence contre l'armée et contre les officiers Catholiques, et soutinrent que le Discours du Roy ne se rapportoit point à ce qu'il avoit dit dans la séance précédente, puisqu'en celle-ci il se déclaroit ouvertement contre les loix établies qui font la sûreté de la religion Protestante. M. Seyer^e parla fort âprement, le Sieur Clergis de même ; un nommé Jennins, créature de Milord Danbi, et un nouveau membre de la Chambre, nommé Tuesden, parlèrent aussi avec beaucoup de force, et d'applaudissemens. Tous leurs discours se terminoient à ne pas souffrir une armée sur pied, et à ne pas permettre qu'il y ait des officiers Catholiques. Un des députés dit qu'il ne voyoit pas que l'Angleterre fit une figure considérable dans le monde dont il étoit fait mention dans le Discours du Roy. Milord Preston répondit à cela, qu'il savoit, et étoit bien informé, que V. M. auroit, cet été, attaqué l'Espagne en quelque endroit, si le Roy d'Angleterre ne l'avoit empêché, et que V. M. n'en avoit été détournée que parce qu'elle avoit cru qu'une rupture avec l'Espagne mettroit l'Angleterre dans le parti de ses ennemis. Il y en eut d'autres encore qui firent entendre qu'il n'y avoit que le Roy d'Angleterre qui pût empêcher les progrès et l'augmentation de cette puissance qui fait trembler toutes les autres, et que le véritable intérêt de la nation Angloise est que le Roy soit en état de s'y opposer, ce qui ne se peut, s'il n'a des forces suffisantes et toutes prêtes. Ce raisonnement fut combattu indirecte-

ment par d'autres membres, qui soutinrent que le véritable intérêt des Anglois est de vivre en repos et en tranquillité dans le dedans, avec la sureté de leurs loix et propriétés, aussi bien que de leur conscience dans l'exercice de leur religion, et que, quand cela sera, l'Angleterre aura assez de considération au-dehors. Cette délibération parut si opposée à ce que sa Majesté Britannique pouvoit désirer que l'on disoit déjà que le Parlement seroit prorogé ou cassé. Il s'étoit fait beaucoup de cabales la veille: les vieux Parlementaires qui ne sont pas du présent Parlement avoient instruit les nouveaux députés.

La Chambre se rassembla le 23; la chaleur fut encore plus grande, et le parti opposé à la Cour emporta de trois voix la question qui avoit été mise, si on délibéreroit sur le secours d'argent, ou si on considéreroit le Discours du Roy; ce dernier avis prévalut, parce que beaucoup de gens attachés ou dépendants de la Cour étoient absents, et il y en eut même qui en furent d'avis, entre autres, le Sieur Fox, qui est Commis au payement des troupes: son père est officier de la Maison, et avoit cet employ du payement des troupes, dans lequel il s'est enrichi. Un Lieutenant des Gardes à Cheval, nommé Darze, homme de qualité, fut aussi de l'avis opposé à la Cour. On parla encore avec beaucoup plus de chaleur que le jour précédent contre l'armée et les officiers Catholiques, et le sentiment presque unanime de la Chambre parut être de ne point donner d'argent pour faire subsister l'armée, et de ne pas souffrir qu'il y eut d'officiers Catholiques.

La Chambre se rassembla avant hier, 24 Novembre, et délibéra sur le Discours du Roy. On s'attendoit que la chaleur et l'empportement seroient encore plus grands que les jours précédents: mais la modération fut beaucoup plus grande qu'on ne l'avoit attendu: il n'y eut presque personne qui répétât rien de ce qui avoit été dit dans les jours précédents: mais le fonds de la délibération fut fort ferme, et la Chambre parut déterminée absolument à ne point permettre que le Roy se servit d'officiers Catholiques, puisque les loix y sont directement contraires. On proposa divers expédients pour accommoder cette difficulté; celui de souffrir que ceux qui sont établis, demeurent, et que le Roy promette de n'en plus ajouter d'autres, fut rejeté par la Chambre, et la conclusion fut de faire une adresse, pour supplier sa Majesté Britannique de remédier aux soupçons

et à la jalousie que donnoit à la nation l'inexécution des loix. On attribue la modération qui a paru dans cette dernière délibération, à la crainte qu'on a eue de donner occasion à la cassation du Parlement. D'autres disent que c'est un conseil des vieux Parlementaires qui ont inspiré de la fermeté et de l'opiniâtreté pour le fonds, en témoignant de la modération au dehors.

Il étoit hier dimanche. On délibère aujourd'hui sur le fonds d'argent. Toute la question se termine à savoir si la Chambre des Communes accordera de l'argent, sans y mêler aucune condition, et si elle se contentera d'avoir témoigné combien la subsistance de l'armée, et l'emploi des Catholiques lui sont odieux, sans insister d'avantage sur une satisfaction préalable. En ce cas là le Roy d'Angleterre aura obtenu ce qu'il y a de plus essentiel ; car le mécontentement général ne l'empêchera pas d'avoir ses troupes sur pied, et de quoi les payer. La délibération d'aujourd'hui décidera de la durée de la séance du Parlement, car le Roy d'Angleterre paroît résolu de ne se relâcher en rien, et sa fermeté étonne ceux qui croyoient que ce qui s'est passé dans la Chambre des Communes, le feroit résoudre d'admettre quelques tempéraments, et de ne se pas opiniâtrer à emporter dans cette séance tout ce qu'il désire.

De tout ce que j'ai l'honneur de mander à V. M. elle voit que les affaires de ce pays sont fort changées depuis quelques jours : elles peuvent recevoir des adoucissements et des changements. Je sais que l'on emploie de l'argent pour remettre les gens les plus opposés à la Cour dans des sentimens plus modérés ; mais il n'est pas facile que le concert se rétablisse parfaitement, et qu'il ne reste pas de grandes défiances de part et d'autre.

Le parti opposé à la Cour est celui du Prince d'Orange, que beaucoup de gens favorisent secrètement. La division même est dans la Cour ; c'est ce que j'expliquerai, autant que je le pourrai, à V. M. dans la suite de cette Lettre. Il me paroît, cependant, que je n'ai rien à faire en exécution des ordres portés par la dernière dépêche de V. M. que d'employer tous mes soins pour être bien informé, et pour lui rendre un compte exact de ce qui se passe.

J'ai conservé quelques liaisons avec des gens accrédités dans les précédents Parlements, et il ne seroit pas impossible d'augmenter, s'il étoit nécessaire les divisions qui semblent naître ; il ne seroit pas inutile au service

de V. M. d'avoir toujours quelques gens dans sa dépendance ; cela peut même, dans les occasions, être utile au Roy d'Angleterre, et au bien de la religion. Je ne vois rien qui presse présentement : il semble que les affaires prennent d'elle-même le chemin qui peut être le plus avantageux à V. M. ; c'est au moins ce qui paroît aujourd'hui. Il est cependant difficile de prévoir les révolutions et les changements inopinés qui arrivent en ce pays-ci, et V. M. voit bien que les affaires sont faites ou terminées avant que l'on ait le temps de recevoir de nouveaux ordres.

J'ai été informé des démarches de l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, depuis le commencement de la séance du Parlement. J'ai été aussi averti que quelques jours auparavant, il avoit fort pressé le Roy d'Angleterre de renouveler le traité de 1680. La réponse de sa Majesté Britannique a été un délai plutôt qu'un refus absolu. Cette Ambassadeur a témoigné en être surpris, et le Roy d'Angleterre a bien jugé de ce que M. Ronquille a dit qu'il avoit donné des espérances à Madrid, que le traité se pouvoit renouveler. Je n'ai pas cru, pendant ces derniers jours, devoir parler au Roy d'Angleterre sur ce renouvellement du traité avec l'Espagne, sachant qu'il n'y avoit rien à craindre présentement, et trouvant plus convenable qu'il m'en parle le premier, ce que je crois qu'il fera, dès qu'il sera un peu moins accablé d'affaires.

L'Ambassadeur d'Espagne fondeoit de grandes espérances sur l'assemblée du Parlement. J'ai été averti que ses partisans insinuoient une alliance avec les Etats Généraux et la Suède où l'Electeur de Brandebourg, pour tenir lieu de ce qu'étoit autrefois la triple ligue. Je sais même que l'on devoit joindre à ces projets d'alliances, des offres de sommes considérables pour y engager sa Majesté Britannique. Tout cela se trouve renversé, ou du moins éloigné par tout ce qui s'est passé jusques à aujourd'hui.

J'ai eu encore une raison pour ne me pas hâter de parler du traité d'Espagne à sa Majesté Britannique, c'est d'éviter toute proposition de secours d'argent qu'on me pourroit faire, ce qui arriveroit plus aisément, si je témoignois appréhender le renouvellement d'une alliance avec l'Espagne, et que je parlasse pour l'empêcher. Ce n'est pas à moi d'en faire naître l'occasion. Je serai même fort retenu dans ce que je dirai au Roy d'Angleterre s'il casse le Parlement, et que toute espérance d'accommodement soit

rompue, afin que V. M. soit en pleine liberté de me prescrire ce que j'aurai à dire, et la conduite que je devrai tenir.

Après avoir rendu compte à V. M. des affaires du Parlement, je crois la devoir informer, autant que je le pourrai, de ce qui regarde le dedans de la Cour. Depuis que Milord Sunderland est rentré dans les affaires, il a pris beaucoup de soin de me donner des marques de son attachement aux intérêts de V. M.; je ne ferai mention que de ce qui s'est passé depuis la mort du feu Roy. Mais ce ministre a bien reconnu que le Grand Trésorier avoit une liaison avec le Prince d'Orange, fondée sur des intérêts qui ne peuvent changer, et qu'ainsi son crédit s'affoibliroit insensiblement auprès du Roy d'Angleterre, ou qu'il seroit contraint d'agir contre ses sentiments et contre ses maximes, ce qui est fort difficile à faire long temps. Cela est arrivé, et Milord Sunderland est entré si avant dans la confiance de son maître, et a tellement soutenu les projets que ce Prince a en tête, qu'il paroît même aux moins pénétrants avoir la principale part du ministère. Les Catholiques sont ouvertement déclarés pour lui, et sont au contraire fort mécontents de Milord Rochester, qu'ils croient trop zélé pour la religion Protestante, et opposé à tout ce qui est des avantages de la religion Catholique. Cela cause une grande division dans la Cour; et quoiqu'il y ait eu des éclaircissements, et des accommodements entre ces deux ministres, on voit bien cependant que leur conduite et leurs intérêts sont fort différents. Leurs amis se partagent. Le Roy d'Angleterre voit tout cela, et sait ce qui se passe. Il se sert du Grand Trésorier dans la direction des finances; mais il ne lui laisse pas le pouvoir de disposer d'aucune somme considérable, et veut lui-même entrer dans le détail, ce qui rend l'autorité et le crédit de Milord Rochester bien moindre. C'est de Milord Sunderland que je sais ce qui s'est passé sur le renouvellement du traité avec l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne; il m'a fort assuré que le Roy d'Angleterre n'avoit aucune envie présentement de renouveler ce traité, et que je serois averti aussitôt qu'il y verroit la moindre disposition.

Milord Sunderland m'a confié depuis peu des choses fort secrettes qui le regardent: il m'a dit que le Roy d'Angleterre a promis positivement de le faire Président du Conseil, après l'assemblée du Parlement. Cette dignité, ajoutée à la fonction de Secrétaire d'Etat, relèvera encore beaucoup l'opinion

de son crédit. Sa Majesté Britannique a été déterminée à lui promettre cette charge, par un Jésuite nommé le Père Piters, qui a beaucoup de part dans sa confiance ; c'est un homme de condition, et frère de feu Milord Piters : il lui a représenté fortement combien il importoit d'accréditer et de récompenser un ministre qui le sert plus fidèlement et plus courageusement que les autres. Le Chancelier, qui est fort uni avec Milord Sunderland, et qui tient la même conduite, avoit pressé le Roy d'Angleterre de lui donner cette place de Président du Conseil. Lorsque Milord Halifax a été chassé, il n'avoit pu en venir à bout, parce que sa Majesté Britannique avoit déclaré à beaucoup de gens, que cette charge ne seroit donnée à personne.

Milord Sunderland m'a dit une autre chose de grande importance, et qui, si elle est vraie, et que le Roy d'Angleterre la sache, diminuera fort le crédit de Milord Rochester, c'est que lorsque M. de Sidney est allé en Hollande, Milord Rochester le pria de le voir le dernier, et un moment seulement avant que de s'embarquer avec Bentem ; dans cette entrevue, Milord Rochester dit à M. Sidney, qu'il avoit un conseil à donner à M. le Prince d'Orange, qui étoit de venir en Angleterre, à quelque prix que ce fût, et même malgré le Roy d'Angleterre, et que c'étoit le seul et unique moyen de redresser les affaires, qui prenoient un mauvais chemin, auquel il seroit impossible dans la suite de remédier. M. de Sidney s'est acquitté de sa commission, et dit que M. le Prince d'Orange a été ébranlé, mais qu'il n'a osé hazarder de venir. Il en a parlé à Bentem, à qui M. de Sidney n'en avoit rien dit, et qui auroit été assez d'avis que M. le Prince d'Orange passât en Angleterre. Je vois bien que le motif de M. de Sunderland, en me disant une chose si importante a été de m'oter toute sorte de confiance à l'égard de Milord Rochester, et de me le faire regarder comme un homme entièrement opposé aux intérêts de V. M. et attaché à ceux du Prince d'Orange. J'ai peine à croire que ce fait soit inventé ; je sais bien que Milord Sunderland peut, par M. Sidney, conserver des liaisons avec le Prince d'Orange, qui pourroient éclater en d'autres temps ; mais en attendant, il tient une conduite entièrement favorable aux Catholiques, et qui éloigne le Roy son maître de tout autre attachement qu'aux intérêts de V. M.

Les ordres que V. M. m'a donnés depuis quelques temps, sont d'éviter avec soin d'entrer dans aucun traité qui la puisse engager de fournir des subsides au Roy d'Angleterre ; cependant, V. M. désire, en même temps, que ce Prince ne prenne aucune liaison nouvelle avec les autres Puissances de l'Europe, à quoi je me suis appliqué, et m'applique comme je le dois. Milord Sunderland peut être en cela d'un grand secours, et il me l'a été en m'avertissant de ce qui se passe ; mais son zèle et son attachement pour les intérêts de V. M. peuvent se refroidir, principalement si sa faveur augmente. Je crois qu'il seroit du service de V. M. d'achever de le mettre dans ses intérêts par une gratification qui l'engageroit entièrement. Je suis persuadé qu'il ne s'éloignera pas de recevoir des marques de la bienveillance de V. M. : il croit les avoir méritées, et témoigne les vouloir mériter à l'avenir. Le poste où est Milord Sunderland, et l'apparence qu'il sera encore plus en crédit, font que si V. M. juge à-propos de l'engager tout-à-fait, on ne doit pas lui faire une gratification médiocre ; et il vaudroit mieux ne lui rien donner, que de lui offrir moins de six mille pièces, et faire entendre, en même temps, que cette gratification continuera tous les ans. V. M. sera toujours en pouvoir de juger si elle devra être continuée. Je ne pense pas qu'il puisse y avoir de dépense mieux employée en ce pays ici que celle-là, surtout dans le dessein qu'a V. M. de ne point donner de subside au Roy d'Angleterre, et de l'empêcher pourtant d'entrer dans d'autres liaisons. Il y a longtemps que j'hésite à faire cette proposition à V. M. ; je comprends que je prends assez mal mon temps présentement qu'il paroît que V. M. penche plutôt à ménager les membres du Parlement les plus accrédités ; mais je me crois obligé pour le bien du service de V. M. de proposer ce qui me paroît de plus avantageux et de plus solide. Il peut être que l'on ne retrouvera pas l'occasion si favorable, si on la laisse échapper. C'est à V. M. à juger combien il lui importe que l'Angleterre n'entre pas dans d'autres intérêts et dans d'autres mesures. V. M. a bien reconnu que la cessation des paiements a produit le renouvellement du traité avec les Etats Généraux : V. M. sait si le renouvellement de ce traité n'a pas été nuisible à ses intérêts ; et quels avantages en ont tirés les ennemis de sa grandeur, et entre autres, M. le Prince d'Orange, qui en ont au moins conçu de grandes espérances pour l'avenir

Je me garderai bien de me jamais avancer à rien dire ou faire par mon propre sens, et je me tiendrai seulement en état d'exécuter à la lettre les ordres de V.^eM.

La Chambre des Communes a commencé ce matin par la lecture de l'Adresse qui doit être présentée à sa Majesté Britannique. On m'a assuré qu'elle est conçue en des termes extrêmements forts et positifs contre les officiers Catholiques. On a mis ensuite en délibération, de prier la Chambre Haute de se joindre sur cette Adresse à la Chambre des Communes ; la proposition a été réjetée, et le parti de la Cour a prévalu. On a délibéré sur le subside, et, après beaucoup de contestation, on est demeuré d'accord de donner *sept cent mille* livres sterling une fois payés. Le Roy d'Angleterre en prétendoit *quatorze cent* ; mais cependant je crois qu'il ne sera pas mal content, pourvu que le fonds de cette somme soit bien établi, et que la Chambre Basse n'insiste pas sur l'Adresse qu'elle doit présenter comme sur une condition préalable ; c'est ce qui est encore incertain ; il faut attendre pour voir s'il n'arrivera point quelque incident qui empêche l'effet de la résolution qui a été prise. Si l'affaire de l'argent se peut séparer entièrement des autres choses qui sont agitées, le Roy d'Angleterre aura son compte, et pourra se passer de Parlement, au moins pendant quelque temps. Milord Sunderland vient de me dire qu'il ne croit pas que le Roy et le Parlement puissent convenir, parce que chacun de son côté veut des choses entièrement opposées. Je suis, &c.

M. Barillon au Roy.

30 Novembre, 1685, à Londres.

LE Parlement a été prorogé ce matin jusques au 20 Fevrier. Le Roy d'Angleterre a bien reconnu, par ce qui se passa hier dans la Chambre, que le parti des factieux augmentoit et se fortifioit tous les jours, et qu'il y avoit beaucoup d'inconvénients de les laisser plus longtemps ensemble. J'apprends que la surprise a été grande, et qu'on ne s'attendoit pas que le Parlement dût être séparé avant que l'acte pour le subside fut passé. La prorogation rend nul tout ce qui a été proposé et commencé sans être

achevé. Ainsi la concession d'un subside tombe entièrement comme non avenue. Il n'y a pas d'apparence que la prorogation du Parlement produise d'autre effet que celui d'augmenter le mécontentement des gens qui sont déjà aigris. Ceci apporte un grand changement dans les affaires d'Angleterre. Je serai appliqué, comme je le dois, à en rendre un compte exact à V. M. pour pouvoir recevoir ses ordres sur la conduite que j'aurai à tenir.

Je suis, &c.

Le Roy à M. Barillon.

à Versailles, le 6 Decembre, 1685.

M. BARILLON j'ai reçu depuis trois jours, tant par le retour du courier que je vous avez dépêché, que par la voie ordinaire, cinq de vos lettres des 22, 25, 26, 29, et 30 Novembre, avec les remontrances faites par les deux Chambres du Parlement d'Angleterre au Roy leur maître, les réponses de ce Prince, et le journal de ce qui s'est passé dans les dernières séances jusqu'à la prorogation.

Il y a bien de l'apparence que la mortification que le dit Roy vient de donner à cette Assemblée rendra ceux qui la composent plus soumis à ses volontés, et qu'il obtiendra plus facilement à leur retour ce que le chagrin de quelques particuliers avoit pu rendre douteux dans cette conjuncture. Quoiqu'il en soit, sa fermeté à maintenir les officiers Catholiques, et à ne pas souffrir que la religion dont il fait profession demeure plus longtemps exposée aux loix pénales, ne peut produire que de bons effets pour sa réputation, et pour la sûreté de son gouvernement.

Je m'assure cependant qu'il ne s'empressera pas de rencouveller une alliance avec l'Espagne, et que le peu de secours qu'il pouvoit tirer de cette couronne, l'empêchera de faire aucune démarche qui puisse rompre les liaisons d'amitié et de bonne intelligence qu'il y a entre moi et lui. Puisque vous jugez que le ministre dont vous m'avez écrit, peut beaucoup contribuer à l'entretenir, je veux bien que vous l'y obligiez encore plus étroitement par une gratification qui le puisse contenter, et l'attacher fortement à mes intérêts. Je consens pour cet effet que vous la puissiez

porter jusqu'à 20, et même 25 mille écus, et je continuerai à lui faire payer la même somme d'année à d'autre, tant qu'il contribuera, en tout ce qui dépend de lui, au maintien d'une bonne correspondance entre moi et le Roy son maître, et à éloigner tout engagement qui pourroit être contraire à mes intérêts. Je laisse à votre prudence de faire les premiers payemens de cette somme, lorsque vous le jugerez nécessaire pour le bien de mon service.

L'éclaircissement que vous me donnez de l'emploi des deniers qui ont passé par vos mains, me fait croire que vous n'avez effectivement payé que la somme de *cent mille livres* au-delà de mes ordres, et comme je suis bien persuadé que vous ne l'avez fait que parce que vous l'avez cru nécessaire pour le bien de mon service, il ne m'en reste aucun sujet de mécontentement.

II. CORRESPONDENCE *between the* EARL of SUNDERLAND *and the* BISHOP of OXFORD, *respecting* MR. LOCKE. *See p. 57, et seqq.*

[In the hands of the late Anthony Collins, Esq.]

From Birch's Papers in the British Museum—Copies in Birch's hand-writing.

To the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, November 6, 1684.

THE King being given to understand that one Mr. Locke, who belonged to the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and has, upon several occasions, behaved himself very factiously and undutifully to the Government, is a student of Christchurch; his Majesty commands me to signify to your Lordship, that he would have him removed from being a student, and that in order thereunto, your Lordship would let me know the method of doing it.

I am, my Lord, &c.

SUNDERLAND.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland, Principal Secretary of State.

RIGHT HON.

November 8, 1684.

I HAVE received the honour of your Lordship's letter, wherein you are pleased to enquire concerning Mr. Locke's being a student of this House, of which I have this account to render; that he being, as your Lordship is truly informed, a person who was much trusted by the late Earl of Shaftesbury, and who is suspected to be ill affected to the Government, I have for divers years had an eye upon him, but so close has his guard been on himself, that after several strict enquiries, I may confidently affirm,

there is not any one in the College, however familiar with him, who had heard him speak a word either against, or so much as concerning, the Government. And although very frequently, both in publick and private, discourses have purposely been introduced, to the disparagement of his master, the Earl of Shaftsbury, his party, and designs, he could never be provoked to take any notice, or discover in word or look, the least concern; so that I believe there is not in the world such a master of taciturnity and passion. He has here a physician's place, which frees him from the exercises of the college, and the obligation which others have to residence in it, and he is now abroad upon want of health; but notwithstanding that, I have summoned him to return home, which is done with this prospect, that if he comes not back, he will be liable to expulsion for contumacy, and if he does, he will be answerable to your Lordship for what he shall be found to have done amiss; it being probable, that though he may have been thus cautious here, where he knew himself to be suspected, he has laid himself more open in London, where a general liberty of speaking was used, and where the execrable designs against his Majesty, and his Government, were managed and pursued. If he does not return by the first day of January next, which is the time limited to him, I shall be enabled of course to proceed against him to expulsion. But if this method seem not effectual, or speedy enough, and his Majesty, our founder and visitor, shall please to command his immediate remove, upon the receipt thereof, directed to the Dean and Chapter, it shall accordingly be executed by,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

J. OXON.

To the Bishop of Oxon.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, November 10, 1684.

HAVING communicated your Lordship's of the 8th to his Majesty, he has thought fit to direct me to send you the enclosed, concerning his commands for the immediate expulsion of Mr. Locke.

SUNDERLAND.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, John Lord Bishop of Oxon, Dean of Christ-church, and to our trusty and well-beloved, the Chapter there.

Right Rev. Father in God, and trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas we have received information of the factious and disloyal behaviour of Locke, one of the students of that our College, We have thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you forthwith remove him from his student's place, and deprive him of all the rights and advantages thereunto belonging, for which this shall be your warrant; and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 11th day of November, 1684.

By his Majesty's command,

SUNDERLAND.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland, principal Secretary of State.

RIGHT HON.

November 16, 1684.

I HOLD myself bound in duty to signify to your Lordship, that his Majesty's commands for the expulsion of Mr. Locke from this College, is fully executed.

J. OXON.

To the Bishop of Oxon.

MY LORD,

I HAVE your Lordship's of the 16th, and have acquainted his Majesty therewith, who is well satisfied with the College's ready obedience to his commands for the expulsion of Mr. Locke.

SUNDERLAND.

III. *The BILL for the PRESERVATION of the KING's Person. See p. 154.*

A Bill for the Preservation of the Person and Government of his Gracious Majestie King James the Second.

WHEREAS impudent, scandalous, and seditious Speeches and Pamfletts have oft, (by sad Experience,) produced Insurrection and Rebellion within this Kingdom, and great Contempt of the sacred Person of the King and the best of Governm^t. both in Church and State, now establish't in this Realm; which audacious Mischief, seldom heard of in other Kingdoms, is now more frequently practised in this Kingdom than formerly. An horrid Effect whereof appeared very lately in the barbarous Assassination and hellish Plott, design'd upon and against our late merciful and blessed Sovereaine, King Charles the Second, and his dearest Brother and undoubted Successor, our most Gracious Sovereaine, King James the Second, (whom God long preserve); And whereas it is still plain, that the same or the like damnable Plotts are yet design'd and carrying on by the same means, and by Persons of the same mallicious and irreconcilable Spiritt against the happy Peace and Settlement of these three Kingdoms: **WE THEREFORE**, the Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having duly considered the Premises; and remembring that in the thirteenth Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, (of ever blessed Memory,) a right good and profitable Law was made for Preservac^on of her Maj^{ty}'s Person, and that in the thirteenth Year of the Reigne of King Charles the Second, of happy and glorious Memory,) another right good and profitable Law, was made for the Safety of his Majestie's Person and Government, against treasonable and seditious Practices and Attempts, Doe most humbly beseech Yo^r. most Excellent Majestie that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majestie, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall and Commons in this p'sent Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that if any Person

or Persons whatsoever, after the first day of July, in the Year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-five, during the naturall Life of our Most Gracious Sovraigne Lord the King, (whom Almighty God preserve and bless with a long and prosperous Reign,) shall, within the Realm, or without, compass, imagine, invent, devise, or intend Death, or Destruction, or any bodily Harme tending to the Death or Destruction, maim, or wounding Imprisonmente, or Restraint of the Person of the same Our Sovereigne Lord the King, or to deprive or depose him from the Stile, Honour and Kingly Name of the Imperiall Crowne of this Realm, or of any other his Maj^{ties}. Dominions or Countries; or to levy Warr against his Majestie within this Realme, or without: or to move or stirr any Forreigner or Strangers with Force to invade this Realm, or any other his Majesties Dominions or Countries being under his Majesties Obeysance: And such Compassings, Imaginac^{ons}, Inventions, Devices, or Intentions, or any of them, shall express, utter or declare, by any Printing, Writing, Preaching, or malicious and advised Speaking, being legally convicted thereof, upon the Oaths of two lawful and credible Witnesses, upon Tryal, or otherwise convicted or attainted by due Course of Law, then every such Person or Persons so as aforesaid offending, shall be deemed, and declared, and adjudged to be a Traitor or Traytors, and shall suffer Pains of Death, and also lose and forfeit as in Cases of High Treason.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that if any Person or Persons at any Time, after the first Day of July aforesaid, shall by any Printing, Writing, Preaching, or other malicious or advised Speaking, declare or assert that James late Duke of Monmouth is the legitimate Sonn of our late Blessed Sovereigne King Charles the Second, or that the said James hath a Tytle or good Claime to the Imperial Crowne of this Realm, or of any other his Maj^{ties}. Dominions and Countries; that then every such Person or Persons so offending, and upon the Oaths of two lawful and credible Witnesses, upon Tryal, or otherwise convicted or attainted by due course in Law; then every such Person or Persons shall bee deemed declared and adjudged to be a Traytor or Traytors, and shall suffer Pains of Death, and also lose a Forfeit as in Case of High Treason.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that if any Person or Persons at any time after the first Day of July, in the Yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred and eighty-five, during his Maj^{tie} Life shall maliciously and advisedly, by Writing, Printing, Preaching, or other Speaking, express, publish, utter, or declare any Words, Sentences, or other Thing or Things, to incite or stir up the People to Hatred or Dislike of the Person of his Maj^{tie} or the establish't Government, then every such Person and Persons being thereof legally convicted, shall be disabled to have or enjoy, and is hereby disabled and made incapable of having, holding, enjoying, or exercising any Place, Office, or Promotion, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, or any other Employment in Church and State, and shall likewise be liable to such further and other Punishments as by the Common Lawe and Statutes of this Realm may be inflicted in such cases.

Provided always, and be it declared, that the asserting and maintaining by any Writing, Printing, Preaching, or any other Speaking, the Doctrine, Discipline, Divine Worship or Governm^t. of the Church of England, as it is now by law established, against Popery, or any other different or dissenting Opinious, is not intended and shall not be interpreted or construed to be any offence w^{thin} y^e Words or Meaning of this Act.

Provided always, that no Person be prosecuted upon this Act, for any of the Offences in this Act mentioned, unlesse the Information thereof be given upon Oath, before some Justice of the Peace, and taken in Writing within forty-eight Houres after the Words soe spoken, or the Fact discovered, and unless it be by Order of the King's Majestie, his Heirs or Successors, under his or their Sign Manuel; or by Order of the Councell Table of his Majestie, his Heirs or Successors, directed unto the Attorney General for the time being, or some other of the Councell learned to his Majestie, his Heirs or Successors, for the Time being, nor shall any Person or Persons by vertue of this present Act, incurr any of the Penalties herein before men^{tioned}; unless He or They be prosecuted within six Months next after the Offence committed, and indicted thereupon within three Months after such Prosecution, any thing herein conteyned to the Contrary notwithstanding.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that no Person or Persons shall be indicted, arraigned, or condemned, convicted, or attainted for any of the Treasons or Offences aforesaid, unless the same Offender or Offenders be thereof accused by the Testimony and Deposition of two lawful and credible Witnesses, upon Oath, which Witnesses, at the Time of the said Offender or Offenders Arraignment, shall be brought in Person before him or them, Face to Face, and shall openly avow and maintain upon Oath what they have to say against him or them concerning the Treason or Offences conteyned in the said Indictment, unless the Party or Parties arraigned shall willingly without violence confess the same.

Provided always, and be it enacted, that this Act, or any thing therein conteyned, shall not extend to deprive either of the Houses of Parliament, or any of their Members, of their just ancient Freedom and Priviledge of debating any Matters or Business which shall be propounded or debated in either of the said Houses, or at any Conferences or Committees of both, or either of the said Houses of Parliament, or touching the Repeal or Alteraçon of any old, or preparing any new Laws, or the redressing of any public Grievance. But that the said Members of either of the said Houses and the Assistants of the House of Peers and every of them shall have the same Freedom of Speech, and all other Priviledges whatsoever, as they had before the making of this Act: any Thing in this Act to the Contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided always, and bee it further enacted, that if any Peer of this Realme, or Member of the House of Commons shall move or propose in either House of Parliamt. the Dishersion of the rightfull and true Heir of the Crown, or to alter or change the Descent or Succession of the Crown in the right Line; such Offence shall be deemed and adjudged High Treason, and every Person being indicted and convicted of such Treason, shall be proceeded against, and shall suffer and forfeite, as in other Cases of High Treason mençoned in this Act.

Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted, that no Peer of this Realm shall be tryed for any Offence against this Act but by his Peers: and if his Majestie shall grant his Pardon to any Peer of this Realm or Commoner convicted of any Offence against this Act after such Pardon

granted, the Peer or Commoner so pardoned shall be restored to all intents and Purposes, as if he had never been convicted: any thing in this Law to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

IV. *Account of RUMBOLD, from Lord FOUNTAINHALL's MS. Memoirs.*
See p. 232.

COLONEL Richard Rumbold, another Englishman, was also taken at Lesmahago, by Hamilton of Raploch and his militia-men. He was flying into England, being conducted by one Turnbull, a man of Polwart, (for Polwart had secured himself by flight sooner than the rest had done.) He was bold, answerable to his name, and killed one, and wounded two, in the taking, and if one had not been some wiser than the rest, by causing shoot his horse under him, he might have escaped them all; however, he undervalued much our Scots soldiers, as wanting both courage and skill. What had unfortunately engaged him in this enterprise was, that he had been from his infancy bred up in the republican and antimonarchic principles; and he owned he had been fighting against these idols of monarchy and prelacy, since he was nineteen years of age; (for he was now past sixty-three,) and was a lieutenant in Oliver Cromwell's army, and at Dundee, and sundry of the Scots battles; and by the discovery of the English fanatick plot in 1683, it was proved and deposed against him, that this Rumbold had undertaken to kill the late King in April 1683, as he should return from Newmarket to London, at his own house, at the Rye in Hogsdown, in the county of Hertford, where he had married a maltster's relict, and so was designed the Maltster; and intended to have a cart overturned in that narrow place, to facilitate their assassination. But God disappointed them, by sending the accidental fire at Newmarket, which forced the King to return a week sooner to London than he designed: see all this in the King's printed declaration. *But Rumbold absolutely denied any knowledge of that designed murder;* though on the breaking out of that plot he fled with others to Holland, and there made acquaintance with Argyle.

FOUNTAINHALL's *Decisions*, Vol. I. p. 365.

On the 28th (June, 1685,) the said Richard Rumbold, maltster, was brought to his trial. His indictment bore, that he had designed to kill the late King, at the Rye or Hogsdown, in his return from Newmarket to London, in April, 1683. *But in regard he positively denied the truth of this,* (though sundry had sworn it against him in England,) the King's advocate passed from that part, lest it should have disparaged or impaired the credit of the said English plot; therefore he insisted singly on the point, that he had associated himself with the late Argyle, a forfeited traitor, and invaded Scotland, &c. All this he confessed and signed; and being interrogated if he was one of the masked executioners on King Charles the First's scaffold, he declared he was not, but that he was one of Oliver Cromwell's regiment then, and was on horseback at Whitehall that day, as one of the guard about the scaffold; and that he was at Dunbar, Worcester, and Dundee, a lieutenant in Cromwell's army. He said that James Stewart, advocate, told them Argyle would ruin all their affair, by lingering in the Isles and Highlands, and not presently marching into the inland country; wherein he had proved a true prophet, but might see it without a spirit of divination. And being asked if he owned the present King's authority, he craved leave to be excused, seeing he needed neither offend them, nor grate his own conscience, for they had enough whereon to take his life beside. He was certainly a man of much natural courage. His rooted ingrained opinion was, for a republick against monarchy, to pull which down, he thought a duty, and no sin. And on the scaffold he began to pray for that party which he had been owning, and to keep the three metropolitan cities of the three kingdoms right; *and if every hair of his head were a man,* he would venture them all in that cause. But the drums were then commanded to beat, otherwise he carried discreetly enough, and heard the ministers, but took none of them to the scaffold with him.

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Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.

Hei mihi! - - Virg. *Æn.* II. 274.

Hæu, Hæu! - - Catul. Poem LXXX.

Me miserable! - Milt. *Par. Lost*, B. IV. 73.

Oh! Oh! Oh! - Shaks. *Macb.* Act V. Scene 1.

O! O! O! - Ditto, *Othel.* Act V. Scene 1.

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